THE MODERN REVIEW VOL. 76 1944

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गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय, हरिद्वार
पुस्तकालय

विषय संख्या
पुस्तक संख्या
आगत पंजिका संख्या August 1944 to December 1944

पुस्तक पर किसी प्रकार का निशान लगाना वर्जित है। कृपया १५ दिन से अधिक समय तक पुस्तक अपने पास न रखें।

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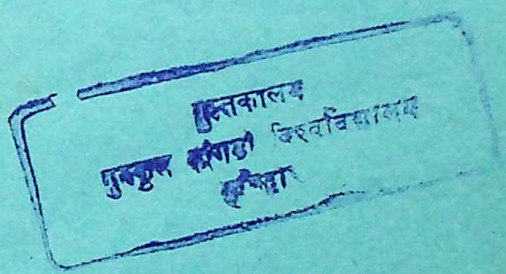
स्तक प्रमाणीकरण १९८४-१९८५



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MODERN REVIEW

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अगस्त १९४४ से दिसम्बर १९४४ तक

नम्बर ४५२ से नम्बर ४५६ तक

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❀ ओ३म ❀

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पंजिका-संख्या .....

पुस्तक पर सर्व प्रकार की निशानियां लगाना वर्जित है। कोई महाशय १५ दिन से अधिक देर तक पुस्तक अपने पास नहीं रख सकते। अधिक देर तक रखने के लिये पुनः आज्ञा प्राप्त करनी चाहिये।

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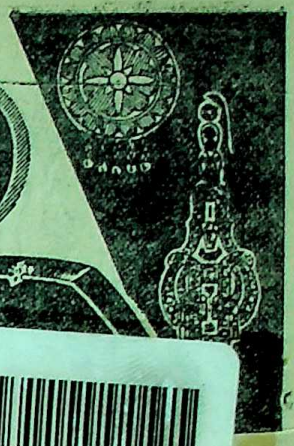

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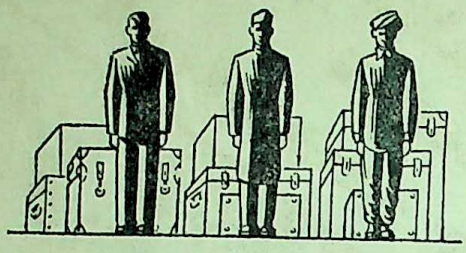

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For even when you are safely on the train, you have such difficulties as that of obtaining food at stations. It is neither as cheap nor as plentiful as it used to be. For women especially, travelling to-day is more uncomfortable than ever before. Women's compartments are fewer, and over-crowding for them is even worse than for men.

No, travel is not what it was. Nor CAN it be in wartime when the Railways have other important tasks. They have to transport food, clothing, fuel and other supplies for you in addition to military traffic.

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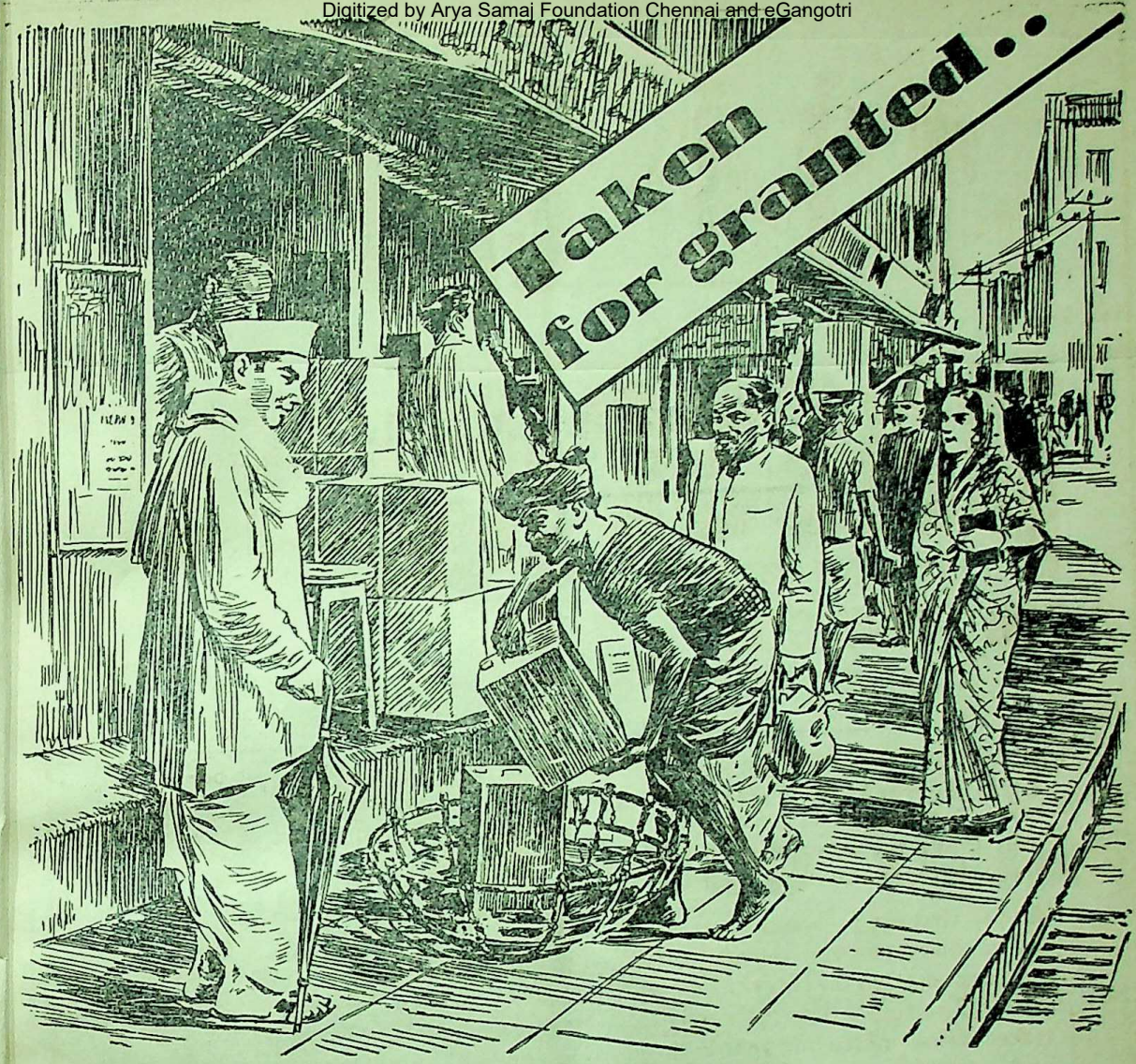

A typical bazar scene four years ago

Supplies of kerosine were available in such quantity that they were taken for granted. With Burma, India's main pre-war source of kerosine supply, temporarily in enemy hands, this product must now come in by sea from other more distant sources. Rigid economy is necessary to ensure that oil tankers can carry vital petroleum products to the many theatres of war in the vast quantities required. At sea today the hazards are great and constant. By practising rigid economy you are ensuring that they are not taken unnecessarily. You are also helping to release India's railway wagons for essential war needs. When the time comes Burmah-Shell will again strive to make kerosine readily available in ample quantities in the cities, and 700,000 villages of India.

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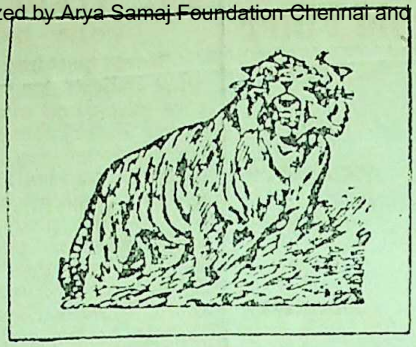

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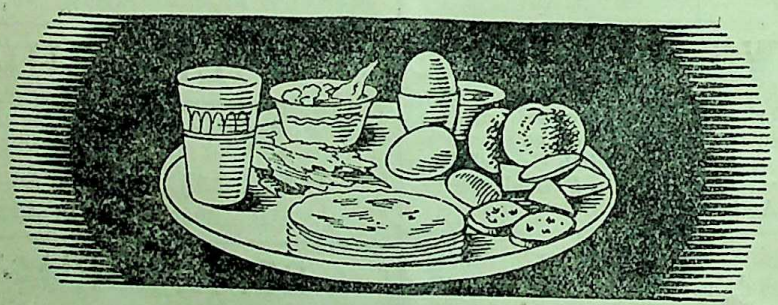
WE ALL CAN, by reasonable economy, extend our blessings to the poor and needy without spoiling our own enjoyment. If we all follow this wise example, there will be fewer needy people in India who find food difficult to buy.



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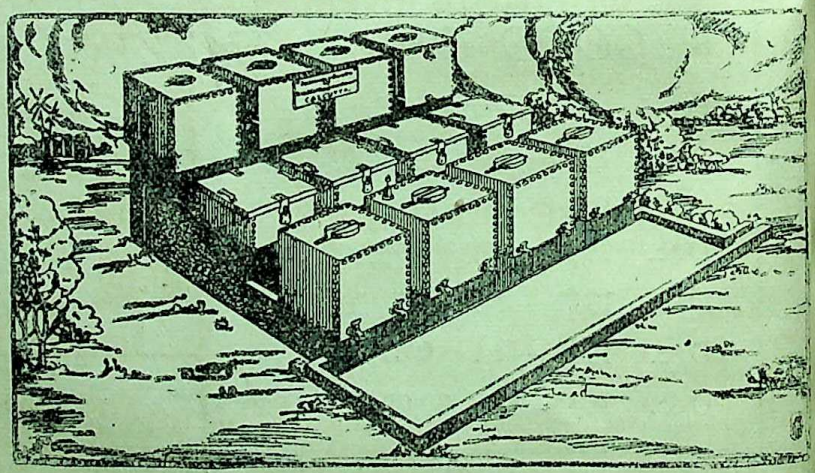

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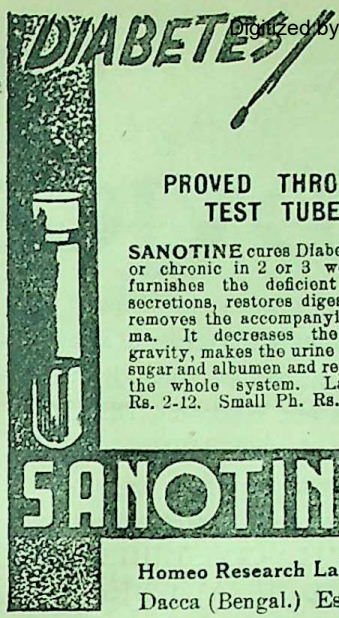

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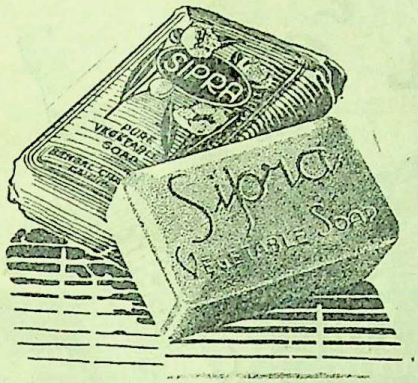

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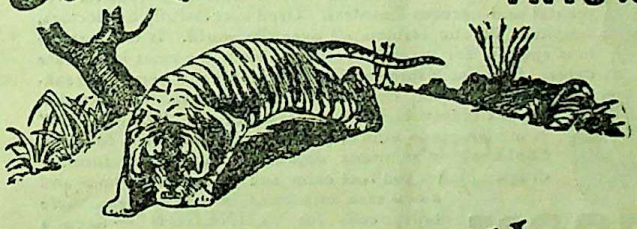

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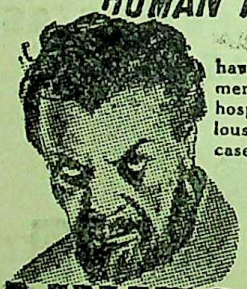

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CONTENTS FOR AUGUST, 1944

	PAGE
FRONTISPIECE—HARA-PARBATI—(*in colours*)—*Kshitindra Nath Majumdar*	
NOTES	81
OUR OBLIGATIONS TO THE NON-OFFICIAL EUROPEAN — III — *H. C. Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D., M.L.A.* ...	91
ROMESH CHUNDER DUTT—*Narayan C. Chanda, M.A.*	96
U. N. R. R. A. AND INDIA—*Ashutosh Das*	99
PICTURESQUE VARKALA (*illust.*)—*K. P. Padmanabhan Tampy, B.A.* ...	103
EARLY HISTORY OF SILK IN BENGAL *Debajyoti Burman*	107
RIGHT TO EDUCATION — *Academician Vladimir Potemkin*	110
THE WORLD AND THE WAR (*illust.*)—*Kedar Nath Chatterji*	111

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CONTENTS—(Continued)

	Page
BOOK REVIEWS:	113—11
P. R. Sen, H. B., Manindramohan Moulik, M. C. Samaddar, D. Burman, A. B. Dutta, Chintaharan Chakravarti, M. S. Sengar, A. K. Roy, K. M. J.	
FREUD'S THEORY OF RELIGION— *Professor Paresnath Bhattacharyya, M.A.* ...	11
INDIAN PERIODICALS: ...	123—12
Surendranath Banerjee—1848-1925 ...	12
Negro Literature	12
The American Character	12
FOREIGN PERIODICALS: ...	126—12
East and West—"The Twain Shall Meet"	12
Assam	12

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THE MODERN REVIEW

AUGUST 1944

VOL. LXXVI, No. 2 WHOLE No. 452

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NOTES

India Debate in the Commons

The incomplete news of the India debate in the House of Commons has reached us at the time of going to the Press. Needless to say, the deliberations of this Parliament which is dominated by a Party that came into power in 1935 over a false and fraudulent issue could not be anything but worse than useless where democracy is concerned. This Parliament helped in the throttling of democracy in Spain and through greed for spoils and through want of courage blinked at Japan's policy of coersion in China. This Parliament again allowed Italy to proceed with the rape of Abyssinia and all but put its seal of approval on that act through the infamous Hoare-Laval pact. It agreed to the sale of Czechoslovakia into slavery through Munich. And only when the British man in the street clearly saw that the name of Britain was being covered for ever with infamy by the vascillatory, reactionary and pusillanimous action of the leaders of the Party it had put into power, that there was a reaction in favour of standing up before fascist aggression. The same party is still in power and as late as 1940 it did not hesitate to throttle China's life line—thereby condemning millions to death and misery—for the sake of a temporary, though completely illusory, respite. Blind selfishness, blind to the extent of utter disregard for the basic principles of democracy where its own subject peoples are concerned, is still the ruling passion and the guiding instinct of British Imperialism which is now in the saddle. There is no hope for the democracies, of which the British people are a part, unless sanity returns to the hard-pressed and distraught peoples of the British Isles. The British Commonwealth is setting straight for disaster and it is unfortunate that petty-minded persons are still able to obscure the view of the future under the pretence of attending to immediate problems.

League, Congress and Rajaji's Formula

The League, the Congress and Rajaji's formula endorsed by Gandhiji may profitably be compared with each other. The relevant portion of the Muslim League resolution passed at Lahore in 1940 reads :

"Resolved that . . . no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims, unless it is designed on the following basic principles, viz., that *geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority* as in the North-Western and Eastern Zones of India, *should be grouped to constitute "Independent States" in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.*"

The resolution of the Congress Working Committee, which met at New Delhi in April 1942, says :

"The Congress has been wedded to Indian freedom and unity and any break in that unity, especially in the modern world when people's minds inevitably think in terms of ever larger federations, would be injurious to all concerned and exceedingly painful to contemplate. *Nevertheless the Committee cannot think in terms of compelling the people in any terri-*

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torial unit to remain in an Indian Union against their declared and established will . . . . Each territorial unit should have the fullest possible autonomy within the Union . . . ."

Finally Rajaji's formula, as endorsed by Gandhiji and forwarded to Mr. Jinnah, says :

"After the termination of the war a commission shall be appointed for *demarcating contiguous districts in the north-west and east of India, wherein the Muslim population is in absolute majority.* In the areas thus demarcated, a plebiscite of all the inhabitants held on the basis of adult suffrage or other practicable franchise shall ultimately decide the issue of separation from Hindustan. *If the majority decide in favour of forming a sovereign state separate from Hindustan, such decision shall be given effect to,* without prejudice to the right of districts on the border to choose to join either state."

Mr. Jinnah—a Dismal Failure

The New Delhi correspondent of the *Leader* writes :

Amazement is expressed at the unresponsiveness of Mr. Jinnah and his attempt to take shelter behind the League Working Committee. Since the negotiation was private there was no purpose in submitting the proposals to the Working Committee, unless Mr. Jinnah was himself prepared to recommend it. Political quarters feel that Mr. Jinnah has suffered so many rebuffs in the past two months that he has lost control over himself, and that no other explanation can be given for rejecting the very proposals he had been advocating for four years. There will be the north-western zone and eastern zone, and the contiguous districts in these areas, with a majority of Muslim population, will vote in a plebescite whether to remain in Hindusthan or form sovereign states. *It appears that Mr. Jinnah is now afraid of a plebescite. He has seen the rising tide of discontent against him and the League High Command.*

The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha, which is meeting in New Delhi, has naturally reacted adversely to the offer. It does not believe in appeasing Mr. Jinnah. But the *Congress leaders have never attempted to cater to individuals but have approached the problem from the angle of settling a dispute between two brothers.* To the extent to which the Muslim brethren have been *worked up by interested parties into a feeling of distrust and suspicion,* the formula proposed by Mahatma Gandhi should give them all protection they want. Political quarters expect that various Muslim leaders will now demand acceptance of the offer or removal of Mr. Jinnah from the League's leadership. The tide is already turning against the League leader and this blunder will be his undoing. At any rate Mr. C. Rajagopalachari has said good bye to Mr. Jinnah and no further move may be expected from the Congress side towards Mr. Jinnah. The general feeling in the capital is that history will write Mr. Jinnah down as 'dismal failure'.

An unreasonably large concession has been made to the reactionary Muslims' demand for Pakistan through Mr. Rajagipalachariar's formula which is as follows :

(1) Subject to the terms set out below as regards the constitution for Free India, the Muslim League endorses the Indian demand for Independence and will co-operate with the Congress in the formation of a Provisional Interim Government for the transitional period.

(2) After the termination of the war a commission shall be appointed for demarcating contiguous districts in the north-west and east of India, wherein the Muslim population is in absolute majority. In the areas thus demarcated, a plebiscite of all the inhabitants held on the basis of adult suffrage or other practicable franchise shall ultimately decide the issue of separation from Hindustan. If the majority decide in favour of forming a sovereign state separate from Hindustan, such decision shall be given effect to, without prejudice to the right of districts on the border to choose to join either state.

(3) It will be open to all parties to advocate their points of view before the plebiscite is held.

(4) In the event of separation mutual agreements shall be entered into for safeguarding defence and commerce and communications and for other essential purposes.

(5) Any transfer of population shall only be on an absolutely voluntary basis.

(6) These terms shall be blinding only in case of transfer by Britain of full power and responsibility for the governance of India.

Bengal has an inalienable right to criticise Rajaji's formula, mainly from two standpoints which have been made clear by Mr. Bijay Bihari Mukherjee in a meeting of the Indian Association. He has emphasised firstly that out of a total Muslim population of 79 millions in British India, Bengal has 33 millions, and the entire population of this province is divided almost equally. The communal problem provides the least difficulty in Madras while it is the most sharply pronounced and the most intricate in Bengal. As such, of all persons Rajaji is the worst suited for tackling the communal problem in any discussion of which Bengal must be given her rightful place. In this case, as in the case of Poona Pact, Bengal has been completely neglected and decisions are sought to be imposed on her. The people of this cinderella of Indian provinces desire Mahatmaji to take note of this sentiment here. Secondly Mr. Mukherjee points out that inclusion of Bengal within a Pakistan zone would mean handing over the land of Sri Chaitanya, of Smārta Raghunandan, of the Digvijayi Palas to a party who refuse to recognise the ancient culture of Bengal as their own. Bengal differs from the rest of India in many vital ways. She follows the Dayabhaga School of Law which applies to the Hindus of this province alone. She has her own literature, her own script, her own philosophy and her own way of life. On our side we want to lay stress on one point. Plebiscites, agreements and all such arrangements are dependent mainly on the good faith between the contracting parties. The parties to

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communal settlement are three—the two main communal bodies, Hindus and Muslims, and the third the British Raj. The Congress has through its sacrifices and its actions amply demonstrated its sincerety of purpose though we cannot say as much about the wisdom of some of the decisions it has taken. Now what of the other two parties, specially what of the British Raj ? In the game of hide and seek that has been going on in India ever since the flagrant breach of trust and faith which followed the end of the last Great War, it has been a puzzle to all sincere frineds of India as to whether the British Raj is hiding behind the communalists or vice versa.

Mr. Casey on Corruption

In a broadcast speech, Mr. Casey, Governor of Bengal, spoke about corruption in the Province. He said :

"It is common knowledge that there is a good deal of corruption in Bengal and, together with the great mass of decent people in Bengal, I very greatly deplore it. The thing that disturbs me is that such malpractices are apparently taken for granted by the general public. There is too much complacence and tolerance of corruption. If the people of Bengal—or even the people of Calcutta—would change their attitude in this regard something could be done. If those who have evidence of either the giving or the taking of secret or illegal commissions or bribes would come forward with evidence—and not merely shrug their shoulders—something could be done.

Corruption in administration is not the monopoly of any country or province. It may be found everywhere in varying degrees. Of late, in India, administrative corruption in the provinces under Muslim League influence is the most pronounced. Political jobbery, introduced and encouraged for maintaining League-walas in power, preceded rank bribery and corruption. Political and administrative corruptions go hand in hand, the former supporting the latter by blocking the way to redress. The two cannot be separated. Corruption under the present Ministers have been so rampant in Bengal that even the Governor had to take public notice of it.

In Sind, the Ghulam Hussain Ministry has incurred the displeasure of the Working Committee of the Provincial League Council itself on the ground of corruption. It has passed a resolution calling upon the Ministers to resign and authorising the President to see that the resolution is implemented. The resolution states, *inter alia* :

"Corruption has become the order of the day. The Working Committee has before it a long list of the misdeeds of some of the Ministers. It is unnecessary to draw a detailed indictment but the committee cannot help putting on record the unsatisfactory character of the foodgrain policy of this Ministry. After enhancing land assessment by 200 to 300 p.c. and giving no return of the same to the people in shape of nation-building activities, the Ministry has brought into being various syndicates whose operations have robbed the cultivators of their dues".

After criticising the Ministry's land revenue and food policy the resolution asks *what justification the Muslim League will have for its existence* if it will not actively and energetically advance the cause of the Sindhi cultivator who is the backbone of the province? The Ministry have adopted delaying tactics in regard to the tenancy legislation. The only honourable course, therefore, for the Working Committee is to record its definite findings that it is in the interests of the province and the Muslims of Sind that the Council of Ministers as at present composed should resign.

Definite allegations of corruption in Assam under a League Ministry have been made by the *Sylhet Chronicle*. Under the caption *"Hoarder's Raj in Assam,"* the Chronicle gives the following instances in its issue for July 18 :

"But what is the real state of affairs? Are the real culprits—the biggest hoarders and profiteers—brought to justice at all?

We shall only cite a few instances here :

" . . . In Dhubri, one Hossen Kasem Dada was reported to be a big hoarder. The supply officer raided his firm; 200 bags were discovered. But Mr. Dada rushed to Shillong and moved skilfully among 'influential circles.' Utimately the supply officer was transferred and Dada was appointed purchasing agent for the Government". (*Reported in "People's War" of July 2, 1944.*)

"It has been revealed in the course of magisterial enquiry at Balaganj (i) that the purchasing agents of Messrs. East Bengal and Assam Commercial Syndicate (consisting of some influential persons such as M.L.A's) do not issue any receipts to the peasants. The vouchers which they give to the Government are not filled up in presence of sellers. They buy at the low rate of Rs. 10-11-0 and realise Rs. 15 or so from the Government; and (ii) that they buy from the peasants in the weight of 84 *tolas* (*making a seer*) and effect delivery to the Government in the weight of 80 tolas. But no action seems yet to be taken against those agents or their principal. (*Reported in a joint letter of Umesh Ray and Sitendu Bhattacharjee*)

"Without fixing the minimum prices of rice and paddy, a way has been kept open for the agents for cheating the peasants. By stopping purchase, the agents force the poor people to sell at a rate dictated by them. Even of their total purchases, a small fraction goes into the Govt. Store, and the balance into the black market. All these facts were revealed in the magisterial enquiry at Balaganj. But no action has been taken. (*From a Bengali letter of Saradindu Tarkatirtha, Balaganj, in the "Janasakti" of July 5, 1944*)

"Mr. Waris Ali, B.A., LL.B., the Magistrate who held enquiries into the said *Balaganj Muddle* and proved an honest and conscientious officer has since been transferred from the Supply Department.

"There are several influential shopkeepers at Sylhet who, despite repeated convictions, still continue to enjoy their licenses and permits." (*Reported by a reliable legal practitioner*)

These are all illustrative rather than exhaustive. If these reports be even partially true, we feel bound

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to say that there is a most powerful *Hoarders' Raj* in Assam.

Balaganj affairs, to cite a single instance, have produced a decided revulsion of public feeling, and a sense of disgust and defeatism is creeping over the public mind. *People seem to have realised to their cost that there is no remedial justice against powerful parties.* And yet tackling of smaller fries cannot even touch the fringe of the colossal problems of the new anti-social crimes created by the War. Is there any truth in romantic stories, now current, about a Minister purchasing a tea garden for Rs. 4 lacs and about some others making fortunes out of "contracts" in the *benami* of brothers, brother-in-laws, cousins, sons and nephews Is it a fact that there is always an active element of connivance and acquiescence in these matters.

Of these three League Ministries, those in Assam and Bengal owe their existence to the support of the British members in the Legislatures, while the third at Sind continues unabated through the sufferance of a British Governor.

U. K. C. C.

Indian commercial sentiment has been continually hardening against the monopolistic activities of the U. K. C. C. The explanatory Press Note issued by the Government of India in August 1942, which is probably the only one of its kind, has not succeeded in removing the misconceptions of the Indian commercial people. This Corporation is an organisation financed and controlled by the British Government. The Government themselves have admitted that it has a capital subscribed by the British treasury, and that in matters of broad policy it is subject to consultation with H. M. G. This fact alone makes it more influential and powerful and places it in a position of greater advantage in the matter of its purchases and sales. The chief grievance of the commercial bodies of India against the U. K. C. C. have been that a monopolistic organisation of this character has been permitted to intrude in the foreign trade of India, exercise ordinary trade functions in this country and operate in competition with Indian commercial interests. It should be remembered in this connection that no such organisation has been set up in any of the dominions like Canada, Australia or South Africa. During this war, India has been in a particularly advantageous position for supplying raw and manufactured commodities to the Middle East and African countries, the full benefit of which would have accrued to this country had the normal trade channels been allowed to function. But in fact the U.K.C.C. applies controls to this side of the Indian foreign trade and thus saps out a major portion of the profit which was normally due to India. Government's contention that th U. K. C. C. enjoyed privileges in respect trading in commodities of essential war impo tance, has also failed to impress anybody. this were the real object, the Corporation wou have confined itself to the handling of comm dities of military importance like arm ammunitions, railway materials, etc., instead interesting themselves in the procurement an supply of piece-goods, yarn, jute, sugar, tea an the like. The definition of commodities of w importance is too elastic today, and if th Government desire to take shelter behind thi inflated definition, surely no argument can co vince them. The position becomes still mo objectionable from the Indian view-point whe it is remembered that this Corporation utilise all Government, semi-government and transpo agencies for its own transactions and carriage while this privilege is denied to Indian shipper and traders in their own country. This Corpo ration should not be allowed to establish itsel in this country. Otherwise the inevitable resul will be to enable the British exporters an manufacturers to serve their interests throug it by crushing Indian concerns.

Import of Consumers' Goods

Some months ago, the Finance Member the Government of India expressed the desire t import consumers' goods as a measure for com bating inflation. In reply to a question in th Central Legislative Assembly the Commerc Member stated that textile goods had bee allowed to be imported although in small quan tities. The very recent liberal grants of impor licenses for consumers' goods, mostly fro England and Empire countries, without regar to the interests of the corresponding indigenou industries, have naturally caused alarm to th manufacturers of consumers' goods. This ha been further intensified by the setting up of Consumers' Council at the instance of th Government, the principle of the selection whose personnel and the policy of which sti remain a mystery.

Large quantities of articles such as toil requisites, drugs and medicines, chemical cycles and parts, electric fans, hurricane lamp etc., are being imported now with the easing the shipping position. All these commoditi are now manufactured in India and with a ver little assistance their production might great be stepped up. The country can become sel sufficient in respect of toilet goods provide only a small quantity of raw materials was mad

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available. The Director-General of the Indian Medical Science had himself stated some time ago that 75 per cent of the medicines, dentifrices and drugs which used to be imported were being manufactured in this country. These like other consumer goods are now being replaced by imported commodities. The chemical industry which had just begun to grow is similarly threatened with extinction.

The handicaps with which these industries had to struggle throughout these vital years were many. It is now becoming apparent that behind these handicaps, a well-planned denial policy had been in operation. The Government had so far pretended their inability to provide transport and coal to the industries, a difficulty which proved to be the most vital. These were particularly in operation against indigenous industries. The control over distribution through the grant of licenses was similarly utilised. Even the price control policy had been operated in favour of the foreign products. Attractive advertisements were published at public cost which mentioned products not of Indian origin. These were published even in the Gazette of India. It was more apparent in the case of products like drugs, medicines, jams, jellies, etc. Signs are quite clear now which leads to only one conclusion, *viz.*, that the Indian consumers' industries today stand face to face with the gravest peril of their life. In no distant future, the Indian market is going to be utilised for the dumping of British and Empire goods which will help Britain to reconstruct after the war with Indian blood and money.

We had anticipated this future of the indigenous industry and had warned the industrialist and commercial people of this country against complacence. We had asked them to combine and prepare for the future. It is not too late yet. Let the entire Indian industrial and commercial people unite and demand that importation of consumers' goods should be undertaken only where such import does not prejudice any indigenous industry engaged in the manufacture of such goods subject, of course, to a general price control and that every possible assistance should be given to such industry for the procurement of raw materials and machinery. The manufacturing interests should immediately make the weight of their opinion felt so that a regular liasion between the Government Department of Industries and their representatives is established.

Scientific Development or Disaster

The urgency of a new approach to Indian problems was stressed by Prof. A. V. Hill in an address to the East India Association in London. The subject of his address was "Indian Scientific Development or Disaster." He said :

India is a natural geographic and economic unit. But if political discord led to actual strife and upsetting public services tens of millions of people already enfeebled by malnutrition might die and India's progress delayed for many years.

Prof. Hill said, his recent visit to India to advise on scientific and industrial problems had convinced him of the urgency of a new approach to Indian problems both here and in India itself. India's first need was better health. Compared with British standards, India needed of seven times as many doctors as she has now, 20 times as many midwives, and 70 times as many health visitors. He forecast that the report of the Health Survey Committee under Sir Joseph Bhore would be "pretty elastic."

India's next need would be food. Her population would number 730 millions in 30 years. That would require a three-fold increase in food production and involve a very great national effort. Long range planning was required to stave off disaster.

If prejudice, and shortsightedness are allowed to take the place of wisdom, forethought and collaboration then I can see little but misery and *disaster ahead—within 25 years*. India cannot remain as she is in a rapidly changing world. Either she must go forward along the path of modern progress, or else she will certainly go back.

Prof. Hill had made it clear to his audience that the title of his lecture was deliberately provocative but not exaggerated.

Officials' Responsibility in the Past Famine

A scathing comment on Lord Linlithgow's responsibility for the Bengal famine is contained in an editorial article in the *New Statesman and Nation*. It says of the Delhi bureaucracy of which Lord Linlithgow was the head that it was complacent throughout the calamity; it foresaw nothing; it minimised and denied facts; and when at last it was forced to admit something of the truth, it gave out as consolation that only a million had died. The following is its comment on the responsibility of officials in dealing with the famine :

There is little in this record to flatter our racial pride. The civil servants were as much to blame as the Ministers, and perhaps more so for the neglect and inefficiency of the Provincial Administration, and they, in the senior ranks, are still largely British. The police in Calcutta were mainly responsible for the failure to deal in a human and efficient way with the refugees who camped in the streets: *they are Indians under British Officers.*

At the "Centre" the responsibility fell on Lord Linlithgow and the British officials round him. They were very slow to apply to India the lessons learned during two wars in our own country and elsewhere. They allowed the inflation to get out of control before they thought of any steps to cope with it. They were, for example, several years too late in imposing a

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measure of rent restriction in Calcutta; even then it was done in a half-hearted and ineffective way.

This outspoken comment will hardly seem controversial. Indian officials bungled and blundered, but they were allowed and encouraged to do so by their British superiors.

"New Statesman" on Famine Relief

The *New Statesman and Nation* disagreed with the Calcutta *Statesman* which stated that little was done by the voluntary effort of Indians to combat the famine. The London paper writes :

> It (*Statesman*) also notes that little was done by the voluntary effort of Indians to combat the famine. That was, however, largely a consequence of our relations with Indian public opinion, and more especially with Congress. It is usually prodigal in organising voluntary service in times of emergency due to floods or earthquakes.

The Calcutta paper's allegation is wholly untrue in its material particulars as well. Most of the relief during the famine had come from the people in effort and money. It is a monstrous lie to say that voluntary effort of Indians to combat the famine had not come.

The *New Statesman* makes the following caustic comment on British rule in India :

> It is impossible to read this story (of the famine) without sense that this tragedy passes judgment on our rule in India. An empire which cannot cite the consent of the governed as its title to rule has only one possible justification in the eyes of history: it must be able to show a convincing record of good government.

The Government in India lacks in both. It is neither based on the consent of the governed nor is it good.

Famine Commission

The personnel of the Famine Commission has been announced. The members will be in Calcutta by the end of the first week of August. Cynics may argue that it would serve no useful purpose to co-operate with this Commission, specially when it has been demonstrated that recommendations of such Commissions are of little value. The Central Government has failed to implement even the first and foremost recommendation of the Food Grains Policy Committee held under the Chairmanship of their own Economic Adviser. We should, however, warn that such a course will be unwise. The Famine Commission must not go by default. In this connection we would recommend Mr. Kali Charan Ghosh's book *Famine in Bengal 1770-1943*, which provides in a comprehensive manner all relevant information from contemporary records available in print. Some of the chapters of the book would supply exceedingly valuable basis for individual as well as collective research for unpublished data for presentation before the Commission.

Mr. Dewey's Aims

Mr. Dewey dwelt on post-war problems in his speech at the Republican Nomination Convention held at Chicago. He said :

> For 150 years America was the hope of the world. Here on this great broad continent we had brought into being something for which men had longed throughout all history. Here all men were held to be free and equal. Here government derived its just powers from the consent of the governed. Here men believed passionately in freedom and independence—the God-given right of the individual to be his own master. Yet with all of this freedom—I insist—because of this freedom—ours was a land of plenty in a fashion unequalled anywhere else in the world. America grew and strengthened; our standard of living became the envy of the world. In all lands men and women looked toward America as the pattern of what they themselves desired, and because we were what we were, goodwill flowed toward us from all corners of the earth. An American was welcomed everywhere, and looked upon with admiration and regard. At times we had our own troubles. We made our share of mistakes, but we faltered only to go forward with renewed vigour.

In her international policy, America is no longer looked upon with the same regard as was done before. Asia looks with deepening suspicion at the close alliance growing between the British territorial and the American financial imperialism. The close Anglo-American collaboration in the Bretton Woods Monetary Conference, following the U. S. A.'s silent approval of the declaration of the British Premier's refusal to apply Atlantic Charter in India, cannot have two different meanings for the subject peoples of Asia.

Penalised for Fair Comment

A security of Rs. 3000 has been demanded from the editor and publisher of the *Forum* of Bombay. The demand is stated to be in connection with an article published on May 28 about the death sentences imposed on the 16 accused in the Chimur and Ashti cases. The alleged offending article fails to reveal to any sober reader anything to which objection can be taken legally or morally. The *Free Press* gives the following summary of it :

> It begins with a plea for restraint in the execution of the sentences in view of the fact that the authorities themselves were not free from excesses in the Chimur area. Secondly, it refers to the black-out of news throughout the Indian Press at that time. The general reactions on evidence of a black-out sponsored under

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bureaucratic pressure cannot be favourable to accused persons, and if irrevocable convictions are given effect to in such a surcharged atmosphere, the article points out that there is grave risk of the innocent being subjected to irreparable injustice. Then follows a comment on the notorious Sholapur convictions which many impartial observers all over the country believe to have been unduly harsh and not fair to the accused. Sir John Beaumont who had something to do with the Sholapur trials in their penultimate stages, left the country, we are next told, a much wiser man as to police prosecution methods than when he entered it. The article rises to a high note of dissent for capital punishment as such, on the ground of the universal liability to error of all human judgments however exemplary the probity and rectitude of the judges. It concludes with the warning that this is not the time for embittering public opinion, as it was bound to be, by the mere fact of so many men being doomed to die at one time.

One fails to understand what led the authorities to take this penal step for a comment which will generally be considered not to have exceeded the limits of sober and fair criticism.

Roosevelt Changed His Mind

The *United Press of America* has cleared the Roosevelt letter mystery. Interest on this subject had been raised in America and India because a Washington newspaper had printed an article by Drew Pearson which said that the British refused to let President Roosevelt deliver a letter to Gandhiji through Mr. Phillips or even through the British hands. The *U. P. of America* reliably understands that more than a year ago while Mr. Phillips was still in India, President Roosevelt had an idea of sending a letter to Gandhiji. Although the contents of the letter are not known, says the message, observers judge from the comments of Mr. Hull and others and the statements made in the meanwhile, that Mr. Roosevelt's attitude in this proposed approach to Gandhiji was most cordial and sympathetic. Nevertheless he wanted to suggest at least the implication that the Nationalists should help the Allies.

The reasons why Mr. Roosevelt never actually transmitted the note to Gandhiji, continues the message, were never known, but it is believed in informed circles that they arose from the decision not to interfere during wartime in Indian affairs.

The message finally states that efforts to obtain official comment or clarification at Washington have not proved successful.

In this connection it may be recalled that in the course of a farewell chat with press correspondents at New Delhi on April 25, 1943, Mr. Phillips had stated in reply to a question, "I should have liked to meet and talk with Mr. Gandhi. I requested the appropriate authorities for permission to do so and was informed that they were unable to grant necessary facilities."

Irish Concern for Indian Situation

The *U. P. of America* cables that the *Irish Freedom* says in its latest issue (July) that in the economic sense India's situation was positively alarming. The paper refers to the fall in industrial production, the rise in prices, and disastrous effects of the Bengal famine. It writes that the position in India is pregnant with catastrophe, unless the short-sighted and obstinate policy, which Mr. Amery represents, is altered. The continuation of that policy can only produce bitterest fruits. Therefore, the present impasse must be ended. To end it the first thing necessary is to release the imprisoned National Congress leaders. Secondly, negotiations need be opened with the Indian peoples' leaders for establishment of provisional National Government, and, thirdly, the right of India to her own National Government must be conceded.

Louis Fischer on World Peace

The *Bharat Jyoti* reproduces an article by Louis Fischer, in which the celebrated author says :

> There are already signs of dissension in the United Nations' camp about the terms of peace. The Atlantic Charter, which professed to give a general idea of Allied policy about post-war Europe, has gone by the board, with Churchill's bland assertion that its terms do not apply to the Axis countries.
>
> If the peace is not to prove another armistice affording breathing space for the nations to prepare for a more disastrous war, the United Nations have to think in terms of general well-being of the world as a whole.
>
> The primary criterion of the peace should not be its good or bad effect on Germany but its effect on the world.
>
> If Germany is remoulded by the victors while the rest of the world remains unchanged, we might as well start preparing for the Third World War.

Clear attempts are being made to defend and perpetuate the existing social and economic systems, based on the exploitation of Asia and Africa. No world peace can be conceived without a free Asia. Freedom of Asia has been raised into a live issue. If the war is to end against totalitarian powers, India and China must emerge as great world nations.

Lay the Foundations of Peace Now

The *New Republic* has drawn attention to the fact that it would be a tragic error to wait till the end of the war to lay the foundations of

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peace aims. The argument that winning the battle is the first concern and that there will be enough time to talk about the new world after victory is fallacious. Nothing will come out of this war for which foundations are not laid while the war is being fought.

It is obvious to this journal that the American Government is playing power politics both at home and abroad. The President, according to it, disregards most of the supporters who have three times elected him triumphantly to office, because he is afraid of the power of his one time domestic enemies, who might, if they were not conciliated, sabotage the fighting of the war. Abroad his representatives consort with the most shady characters, regardless of principle, if only military expediency can be said to dictate the choice. Democratic movements are rebuffed again and again, indeed the American Government acts as if it believed there were no reality of power in the peoples of the world.

Criticising Britain, the *New Republic* comments that as victory approaches, it becomes ever clearer that the Government of Britain is the same old Tory Government still bent on imperial domain and strongly influenced by industrial combinations and world cartels.

Pointing out the tragic error the journal concludes :

> Perhaps the reason for failure to follow up the Atlantic Charter by concrete peace aims has been Mr. Roosevelt's conviction that everything else must wait while the war is being fought; it will be time enough to talk about the new world when victory is won. People can unite on defeating a common enemy who could not unite on anything else. Winning the battle will take all the energy and attention we have, there is nothing left over for anything beyond. These arguments are attractive, but fallacious. For a dozen reasons, continuing to act on them would be a tragic error.
>
> For one thing, nothing will come out of the war for which the foundations are not laid while the war is being fought. For another, the way to unite people is not to avoid any issue that might be controversial, but to give them such a strong lead that they have something to unite about. If either the domestic or the international scene is an example of unifying leadership at present, then the Tower of Babel was an example of complete harmony. Again, one way to help win the war, and one of the most powerful ways, is to give people a conviction that they are fighting, not just against something, but for something. It is also a way to weaken the enemy's will to revolt.

Moral Victory for American Negroes

A moral victory for American Negroes is reported from the United States. In a test case, the Federal Supreme Court has handed down a 8 to 1 decision that Texas—and, by implication, all Southern States—must allow Negroes to vote in the Democratic Party's primary elections, hitherto a very jealously guarded privilege of the white South. This overrules the claim that the Constitutional Amendment giving Negroes the political privileges of citizenship did not apply to the primary elections at which party candidates are nominated. At this decision, there was consternation among the defenders of white rule.

The American Negroes' handicaps, political, economic and social, are still real and often galling. Lynchings, those blots upon American law and order, which averaged 152 in a year from 1883 to 1903, continue even to this day. There were 3 lynchings even in 1943, while a threatened fourth was stopped by white and coloured citizens together.

A foreign observer, Dr. Gunnar Myrdal, in his two-volume analysis under the title *An American Dilemma : The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*, declares : " America is free to choose whether the Negro shall remain her liability or become her opportunity." It is a moral choice and more than local in its implications and in its repercussions " fateful not only for America itself but for all mankind."

M. P.'s View on Wavell's Refusal to Meet Gandhiji

The *Free Press Journal's* representative cables from London that political circles of progressive opinion learnt with profound regret the news that Lord Wavell had refused to meet Gandhiji. They are stupefied by this action of the Viceroy and they describe it as inexplicable, unjustifiable, impolitic, and irreconcilable with Lord Wavell's oft-repeated phrase 'a sincere friend of India.'

Commenting on this news, Mr. James Maxton M. P. and Mr. Fenner Brockway, Secretary of the *U. P.* and Editor of the *New Leader*, said :

> "We feel quite sure that within the period of another five years British statesmanship towards India will be regarded as incredibly bankrupt. The Viceroy's action takes this bankruptcy to its lowest point. It is sheer madness that any Representative of the British Government should refuse to see the man most representative of India.

Sir Richard Aucland, leader of the Commonwealth Party, declared that this refusal was the greatest political blunder. This refusal once again demonstrates that Whitehall and New Delhi are determined to rule India with the sole aid of the D. I. R. in complete disregard of public opinion in the country.

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American Eyes on India

Eliot Janeway writes in the June number of the magazine *Asia and the Americas*, analysing America's prospects in post-war foreign trade relations :

"The most impressive case of a major potentially important country whose ability to pay has been vastly increased by war is India. India is no longer a debtor nation. As recently as March 1, 1939 the public Indian debt on capital account in London exceeded 350 million pounds. This debt is now non-existent. In addition the sterling reserves of India, which were some 58 million pounds when the war began, had risen above 550 million pounds at the end of the fourth year of war.

According to the *Economist*, India's boom in exports, combined with her inability to import and her revenue from her participation in the war, will increase this reserve at the rate of £300 millions yearly until the end of the war. India's inability to import is not of her own choice, but a result of control measures which benefit the foreign traders at a tremendous cost to her own national life. All her protests have been in vain.

Einstein on World Economic Upheaval

Prof. Albert Einstein, in a recent interview in his American home with B. L. Jacot and James Jarche, touring the U. S. from Britain, said :

There must be a great revolution in Germany after the war for the people have to be re-educated. I do not know how it will be done. It is a vast problem. Not only the leaders but the people.

There will be a great economic upheaval in the world. Politics—the whole system of government must change. As in Russia the intellectuals will emerge from the war on top. They will be the important people, but, of course, scientists will never govern. Their training does not give them power. The economic system of the world is wrong and that is probably one of the causes of the war.

Community control of production must come, even here in America where it will be most difficult to establish. There is the problem of unemployment. Unemployment cannot be separated from capitalism, and with unemployment as a factor to be contented with in any system of economy the problem is insoluble.

An unemployed man means a non-consumer, and a consumer the less means an increase in unemployment. The circle is vicious. The system is wrong.

About Britain's Palestine policy, he said :

"I like the British, but I resent the British policy towards the Jews in Palestine. It is unfair. It is likely to lead to trouble. The Jews have not always worked in closest co-operation with the Arabs, but the British could have done much to make co-operation easier.

I would like to see the English hold a fairer balance. You use appeasement politics to the Arabs. It is like Chamberlain's policy towards Germany, and it gives the idea of weakness. The Jews, of all people, deserve fairness and this I resent of the British who have done so much for the world.

Basis of Calculation of Paper Quota

The year 1943 and not 1939 has been made the basis of calculating the 30 per cent quota. This makes a world of difference in the available supply of paper as has been pointed out by Mr. Raghunath Dutt, one of the leading paper merchants of India. In 1939, according to Government's own calculations, more than 1 lakh tons were available while in 1943 the available supply was only 79000 tons including 70000 tons of production and 9000 tons of imports. In November 1942, the Paper Control Order reserved 90 per cent of the production for the Government which was subsequently reduced to 70 per cent. Thus in 1939 the available supply to civilians was 1 lakh ton while in 1943 it was only 30 per cent of 70000, *i.e.*, 21000 tons plus the 9000 ton import. Therefore, a 30 per cent quota of the available supply for the public comes to 30000 tons on the basis of 1939 and to only about 14000 tons on a 1943 basis.

Mr. Dutt has drawn attention to another important fact and suggests that a uniform weightage per ream of the paper should be introduced. This has not been done so far and the result of the manufacture of paper of higher weights has been an inflation in total tonnage without any corresponding increase in the available quantity. The Mills manufacturing boards and kraft paper should also be asked now to switch off to the production of printing paper.

Government's calculation about the future production, which has been put at 70000 tons, seems overcautious. Since the peak production of 1,09,000 tons, only the Mysore Mill with a production figure of 4000 tons has closed down for want of coal and the Titaghur Mills have reduced production by 6000 tons. This takes out only about 10,000 tons from internal production, leaving, even at a moderate estimate, at least 90000 tons. We still believe, in spite of all pleadings by Sir Akbar Hydari at Bombay, that the Paper Control Orders were unduly harsh.

Scholarships for Indians in American Universities

We have received a communication from Mrs. G. J. Watumull, Chairman, Distribution Committee, Watumull Foundation, announcing one fellowship and ten scholarships to be offered by the Foundation to graduates of Indian Uni-

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versities for advanced study in American Universities and technological institutes.

The Watumull Foundation, established by Mr. Gobindram J. Watumull of Honolulu, Hawaii, and Los Angeles, California, for carrying on philanthropic and educational activities which will help to increase *national efficiency of India* and further better understanding between the United States and India, offers one Travelling Fellowship for *one year,* and ten scholarships to Indian men and women to carry on higher studies and research in American universities and institutions for advanced agricultural and technical education for *two years.*

Only graduate students of the best type, graduate medical students, graduate engineers, and graduates of Agricultural colleges are eligible for these scholarships.

These schoarships are open to *men and women* students of Indian parentage without any discrimination of class or religion.

Applications for the Travelling Fellowship and for Scholarships should be sent by air mail to: Mrs. G. J. Watumull, Chairman, Distribution Committee, Watumull Foundation, 937 Malcolm Avenue, Los Angeles 24, California, U. S. A.

Dr. Inge on Britain's Future

In an article to the *Evening Standard,* Sunday, the very Reverend W. R. Inge, D.D., writes with reference to Britain's future:

In my opinion, our episode of prosperous industrialism is coming to an end and will be followed by the kind of civilisation which Plato and Ruskin liked best, a nation of farmers and small traders.

A nation which depends for its existence on foreign trade can never be a working man's paradise. We have only to compare the costs of production at home and in foreign countries. The British workman has been in a highly privileged position. Is there the slightest reason to suppose that this privileged position can be maintained? Our wage-earners seem to think that it can. They will certainly not make the sacrifices which alone, in my opinion, might save them. I believe, therefore, that our foreign trade is lost.

Does this mean that we shall cease to be one of the Great Powers? In a sense, yes. We must give up trying to police the world, and giving moral lectures to our neighbours.

Dr. Inge believes that the future of the British Empire will be that of Spanish Empire, and he does not think that the future belongs to the nation with most wants.

Bombay Corporation's Plan to Combat Malaria

The Bombay Municipality has launched a scheme for combating malaria. Thousands of Gambusia fish which live on the larvae of mosquitoes have been transferred from the Palton Road and Victoria Garden fish-farms to closely guarded wells and tanks in Bombay City. The original Gambusia fish were brought from Delhi to be experimented upon at the Bombay Municipality Health Department (Malaria) laboratory and aquarium. About 90 overseers and 200 workmen collected specimens of mosquito larvae from all parts of the city for the Gambusia fish which were found to devour both non-malaria and malaria carrying larvae. A medium-sized fish may eat as many as 165 larvae in one day and, therefore, it has been decided to breed more of this kind.

The Gambusia adapts itself readily to many natural conditions, inhabiting shallow stagnant waters and feeds on larvae of insects. "The species is definitely carnivorous," Dr. Vatve, Assistant Health Officer (Malaria), told the Associated Press, "and it is known to eat its young. I have advised the building of small stone structures to protect its young."

Hand-Made Paper

Writing in the *Bombay Chronicle,* Mr. Purshottamdas Tandon draws attention of the authorities concerned to the position of hand-made paper in the face of the new Paper Control Orders. He says:

The Government has attempted by the Order to restrict the use of paper without giving any indication of its intention to make simultaneous effort to increase the production of paper. Such one-sided control is likely to defeat its purpose. The Government should have utilised this opportunity to give an impetus to the paper production of the country, specially the hand-made paper production which cannot be adversely affected by transport and other difficulties and I, therefore, suggest that the Order should be so amended as to exclude the hand-made paper for the purposes of the Order and confine the restriction to mill-made paper only. This would result in increasing the production of paper and relieving thereby to a great extent, the difficulties now being experienced by the consumers due to the restriction in the use of paper.

If there were any vagueness about the inclusion of hand-made paper within the ambit of the Paper Control Orders, Sir Akbar Hydari has removed it. He has definitely stated that hand-made paper is included in the control scheme. In perfect harmony with the general control policies of the Government, drastic cuts will be imposed on the use of hand-made paper with no encouragement to increase production. The reluctance of the Government to create a network of competition centres for imported paper after the war might also provide another explanation for this singularly drastic step which was not wanted by any section of the public.

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OUR OBLIGATIONS TO THE NON-OFFICIAL EUROPEAN—III

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D., M.L.A.

I

That the non-official European community has always realised that the excessive representation and the economic safeguards demanded by and accorded to it need some kind of justification becomes evident when we remember the plea it put forward before the Government of India on the eve of the passing of the Government of India Act, 1919. The representations it made to the British administration were summarised in the following terms in Paragraph 4 of the First Despatch of the Government of India on Indian Constitutional Reforms dated the 5th March, 1919. It was said there that

> They (non-official Europeans) claim a separate electorate and representation in proportion to their importance rather than their numerical strength and they doubt whether even this will sufficiently secure the interests of trade and commerce.

This short and pregnant summary makes three things clear. The first of these is that the non-official European, like his successor a quarter of a century later when the Government of India Act, 1935, was enacted and like most of his Indian fellow-subjects, was out to secure his economic interests by demanding communal seats and that here his democratic heritage and his professed admiration for it as well as his experience of Parliamentary procedure made no difference between him and the politically uneducated and often illiterate Indian. The second fact is that the non-official European to safeguard his interests demanded representation not on the basis of his numerical strength but on the basis of his importance wherein he was in no way different from or superior to the communal-minded Mussalman who claimed weightage on account of his historical importance and the Sikh who stressed his contribution to the Indian Army. The concluding part of the statement makes crystal clear where this importance lay, *viz.*, his trade and commerce.

Be it remembered that all this was said at a time when, under the Montagu-Chelmsford-Reforms, the non-official European was about to be accorded altogether 58 seats in our Central and Provincial legislatures.

The Simon Commission was appointed in November, 1927, under Section 84A of the Government of India Act, 1919, to inquire into the working of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and to offer its suggestions as regards the extension, modification or restriction of the degree of responsible government then existing in India.

For the purposes of the present discussion it is sufficient to state here that the Simon Commission recommended that the total number of seats reserved for the non-official European in the Central and Provincial legislatures should be raised from 58 to 81 or 83.

The Simon Commission referred to the importance of the European community temporarily residing in India in two places. In Paragraph 66 of the first volume of its report it said that

> The noteworthy fact is that, over areas so vast and amid populations so immense and diverse, the importance of the small European community, by whatever standard it may be measured, is out of all proportion with its size.

In Paragraphs 81, 82 and 88 of the second volume of its report the Simon Commission referred to the important services rendered by non-official Europeans. Drawing attention to the valuable contributions made by British businessmen, it admitted incidentally in Paragraph 81 that the European communal seats were generally occupied by them. In this connection the attention of the reader may be drawn to the following sentence quoted from page 68 of the second volume of the Simon Commission Report where it was stated that

> The numbers of Europeans in India are no fair measure of the contribution they make to the country, or of the influence they exert.

It was probably because the joint authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report realised that at that time their countrymen were more interested in commerce and trade than in industries that they drew attention to the benefits derived by India from the commercial activities of Britons. By the time that the Simon Commission Report was signed, that is to say, about twelve years later, Europeans had come to take greater interest in the development of certain types of industries and that for the same reason which had originally attracted them to commerce—the desire of obtaining high or fairly high profits with minimum risk. It is therefore that we find

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the Simon Commission saying in Vol. I, Paragraph 66 of its Report signed in May, 1930, that

> It is British organisation and leadership which have promoted the modern industrial development of India.

Similarly, Paragraph 13 of the Government of India's Despatch on the proposals for constitutional reforms dated the 20th September, 1930, refers to

> the important contribution which this (non-official European) community has made to the economic development of India.

This refers specially to industrial development for in almost the next sentence, mention is made separately of the widespread commercial activities of Britons and the benefits India has derived from them.

The fact that the above two statements were made in the course of discussions regarding the representation to be accorded to non-official Europeans in Indian legislatures is abundant proof that this was regarded as an important factor in determining its amount.

In what follows, it is proposed to make an attempt to assess the nature and the value of the contribution made to the development of our industries by Europeans and then to find out whether these have been of sufficient importance to justify the representation accorded to the members of this community on this ground and the statutory safeguards provided for it under the Act of 1935.

II

It has been shown previously that the Industrial Revolution in England and improved communications in India due to the construction of railways, the establishment of steamer services and improvements in roads promoted the export of our raw products and the import of cheap manufactures, mainly from England. As a consequence of this, there were such large accumulations of capital in England that the openings available for its advantageous investment in its home land failed to absorb them. A. K. Cairncross in "The Victorians and Investment" which appears in *Economic History* has shown how the funded debts in England "went on yielding decreasing incomes due to falling interest rates," the natural consequence of which was the export of capital.

There were certain very good reasons for the influx of British capital into Indian industries. At that time, a British community engaged in banking and commerce had already established itself in the principal ports and centres of trade. Among the Britons who came to our motherland in connection with the purchase of raw materials, the sale of British products, shipping, etc., a number, generally ambitious and enterprising, stayed on to take advantage of such openings in business as were available here. Most of these people had either capital of their own or could command easy money in the shape of exported British capital.

These men found that India possessed large amounts of inexpensive raw material, an abundant supply of untrained but cheap and tractable labour and a ready market for such goods as her children needed. Further, Indians lacked the necessary leadership, business organisation and capital to exploit all these advantages. Political subjection stood in the way of the development of our resources with borrowed foreign capital and imported technicians.

At the same time, most British business leaders possessed conspicuous ability. The training they had undergone in Britain coupled with the widening of their outlook due to travel and experience abroad enabled them to plan well on a large scale. Indeed, at this particular stage of our economic development, these men had the monopoly of business enterprise in India. There was no fear of competition from indigenous sources nor was there a jealous national government to place impediments in their way if and when they exploited our material resources and man-power primarily for their own benefit.

Indians may be wrong but they believe that one of the attractions India possessed for these men lay in the fact that, as a dependency and on the principle that blood is thicker than water, these businessmen felt, perhaps not always rightly, that they would meet with greater consideration from their countrymen who were ruling India in behalf of Britain than in the Colonies and Dominions where they would have men of their own race and blood as their rivals and where probably the colonials would have the first preference from their governments. So far as the question of protection of life and property was concerned, India as a dependency was in no way inferior to any of these countries.

Even then, the Britons who took up the task of industrialising India were careful to engage in industries where the minimum amount of risk had to be faced. This is clear when we remember the general order in which three different types of industries were developed.

III

Probably disinclination to face the risks involved in power manufacturing on a large scale

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the products of which might not find an immediately profitable market in or outside India and which would require the investment of large amounts of capital in somewhat doubtful enterprises, induced the English investors as well as those engaged in the import and export trade of India to direct their attention first of all to what are called plantation industries, such as indigo, tea and coffee, the market of which was assured as Britain herself stood in need of them.

All the above industries with the exception of indigo are engaged in the cultivation of the crops and their preparation for the market and every one of them is organised along the same lines as the factory industries. They have been established by Europeans with European, generally British, capital mainly in areas formerly sparsely populated. Where Indians have appeared, as for instance in the tea industry, they have been late comers who have found to their dismay that all the best land suitable for cultivation has been appropriated by purchase or long lease by European concerns long before their appearance in the field.

As a general rule, the labour required is recruited from considerable distances mainly from the aboriginal tribes and the same workers are engaged in different times in both agricultural and industrial processes which are carried out scientifically. Each plantation is practically a productive unit employing a large number of workers under capitalistic control and therefore falls under the category of industries.

The returns from plantation industries, the high expectations entertained about their future prosperity as well as the increasing amount of English capital seeking investment combined to lead to the development of Indian mining industries which, beginning with the raising of coal, were gradually extended till today the major part of our mining industries is under European control.

IV

The opening of the Suez Canal which reduced the length of the voyage round the Cape of Good Hope by nearly two months and practically halved the cost of carriage stimulated our foreign trade so much that England which by that time had become "the workshop of the world" was enabled to pour into India and other industrially backward oriental countries an unending stream of her manufactures.

These factories, however, indirectly assisted the establishment of power industries in India for the eminent success achieved by them in England and the facilities for easy communication brought about by the starting of shipping services between Britain and India and the construction of railways in the latter carried along with them the implication of the easy transplanting of factories to India and the oriental countries. Machinery could be imported, spare parts could be obtained quickly and cheaply, engineers and skilled labour to install, operate and repair them could pass to and fro between England and them at much less sacrifice of time, money and convenience.

Indians believe that Europeans engaged in the gradually increasing import and export business discovered that it would be more profitable for them to start those industries in India the raw products of which were available locally and to export them in a partly or fully manufactured state. There were two factors in their favour the first being that they could use cheap Indian labour thus reducing the manufacturing costs and secondly, that the processes through which the raw materials would pass would reduce their bulk and weight which of course would reduce the cost of carriage.

Still another fact which must have weighed with the more far-sighted among them was that it would be wise for Britons to start industries manufacturing such consumer's goods as had ordinarily to be imported. In addition to the fact that they would have a ready and large market almost next door, the establishment of industries of this type would entitle them to claim the benefits of protection if and when that became the accepted policy of the British administration in India.

These are some of the reasons for the appearance of factory industries in our motherland though, as was but natural they, at the beginning, were confined to the manufacture of a comparatively few lines of goods.

While it is not maintained that chronologically there were three distinctly marked stages in the development of different types of Indian industries under British leadership, it is none the less correct to assume that, in spite of a certain amount of overlaping, factory industries made large advances after the most important among the mining industries had been stabilised and that they in their turn succeeded in securing a firm position after the plantation industries had been established.

V

Though many of the plantations, mines and industries were originally started by individual Britons, it was not long before the force of circumstances converted them into joint-stock

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companies as for instance when the founder at the time of his retirement thought it necessary to retain some interest in the business and therefore formed a limited liability company in which he retained a large number of shares, the actual management being entrusted to either some individuals or some organisation commanding his confidence.

When India's foreign trade and large-scale industries with their demand for large amounts of capital passed to Britons, it had to be procured from their countrymen and the organisers were therefore compelled to incorporate them in England. Even when such concerns were registered in India with rupee capital, the money had to come from Britons. The capital and influence of these concerns, however, as Dr. Anstey has pointed out

> were small in comparison with that of companies registered outside (India).

The organisers, almost always well-known for their integrity and business ability, were able to raise the amount required from their own countrymen without any difficulty and did so because they had not realised the desirability of associating the people of the country where they were earning profits by the exploitation of Indian labour and Indian raw materials, in their activities. Few Indians will agree to the view that any attempts made in this direction would have failed for Indian capitalists are as eager as any other people to invest their savings profitably. There was also the fact that British business enjoyed the confidence of Indians and this would have attracted Indian investors.

Actual experience proved that it was not easy to maintain the requisite continuity of policy and efficient direction and management in these British joint-stock concerns with sterling capital and with their head offices in London because managers with first-hand knowledge of Indian conditions were hard to get and these salaried officers paid frequent visits to England either on leave or for recuperation after illness. There was also the problem of replacing them when they left the concerns they were serving to better their prospects or when they died.

These were the circumstances which called the managing agency system into existence. The firms acting as managing agents not only enjoy an unimpeachable reputation for their integrity and financial soundness but usually have a number of competent and experienced partners able to replace one another thus ensuring continuous expert supervision of the concerns entrusted to their management. As they do business continuously in India, they always have, in addition to the partners, a European staff familiar with Indian conditions and able to take responsibility thus ensuring efficiency and continuity of supervision for each individual concern under their care.

There are at least three principal reasons for the dominant position occupied by managing agency firms in the industries controlled by them. The first of these is that they invariably hold a certain minimum of shares which, along with those held by their friends, is sufficient to place them in an advantageous position. While theoretically, no one can exercise effective control without holding 51 per cent of the shares, what actually happens is that as they are distributed among people living in different parts of the country the number of whose shares is not large enough to make them take the trouble of organising a movement against the managers so long as they receive satisfactory dividends, the agency firms enjoy perfect freedom to pursue their own policy without any interference.

A method for securing control is through written agreements, terminable and non-terminable. These accord such wide powers that the managing agency firms are, to all intents and purposes, at perfect liberty to carry on their activities without any kind of let or hindrance. The fact that these cannot be revoked or cancelled unless by a 75 per cent majority of the shareholders is sufficient to practically convert terminable into non-terminable agreements.

The financial advances made by the managing agency firms as well as the fact that they are often the largest holders of debentures having a lien on the assets of the company make them the chief creditors and this makes their position almost unassailable.

VI

It would be idle to deny that just as attempts for the attainment of the largest possible measure of commercial and industrial self-sufficiency when they are likely to yield little or no profits or even to involve loss are made only where they are directed by a national government in pursuance of a national policy, similarly all ventures, commercial and industrial, whether undertaken by Indians or non-Indians, can have only one motive—the earning of profits. The British shareholders, directors and the managing agency firms entrusted with the conduct of business enterprises in India constitute no exception to this rule.

It will also be readily admitted that the principal reason why the British managing

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agency firms have been permitted to enjoy almost unlimited power is that they have succeeded in this task of earning dividends which, on the whole, have satisfied those who have invested their savings in the enterprises controlled by them. Nor can it be doubted that failure on an extensive scale in this their primary task would sooner or later have led to the withdrawal by their financial backers of the powers enjoyed by them and that, taking all things together, the British managing agency firms stand to lose much more than individual share-holders however large their holdings for, as Dr. Nabagopal Das, Ph.D., (Econ.) London, I.C.S., has pointed out on page 85 of his *Industrial Enterprise in India* :

> They have generally regarded their earnings from shares (as shareholders) as subordinate to their (generally much larger) earnings in other capacities and in other fields of activity.

From all this it follows that the desire to avoid loss and the profit motive operate more strongly in the case of the agency firms than in that of the shareholders.

These facts have a two-fold significance. The first of these is the minimum profits which would keep the shareholders contented and the second the industries where these could be secured with the minimum risk. So far as the first matter is concerned, we find that the opinion expressed by several leading business men (*Indian Tariff Board : Paper and Pulp Industries, Evidence,* 1925, Vol. I., p. 639) was that the minimum return necessary to draw capital into new fields was 10 to 15 per cent on the investment with of course the implication that not only would larger returns be more welcome to investors as a class but also that aliens would naturally enough prefer to lay out their savings in those enterprises which offer fair prospects of earning them on the principle that investments in foreign countries ordinarily involving larger risks are expected to yield higher returns. Still another implication equally important is that once experience shows that high or fairly large profits can be earned with comparative ease and with minimum risk in certain industrial enterprises, the tendency to concentrate on them would immediately and automatically manifest itself.

Applying these deductions to the industries organised by Britons in India, we find that the (European) Bengal Chamber of Commerce in its evidence before the Indian Industrial Commission as referred to by the Indian Fiscal Commission (*Evidence,* Vol. II., p. 929) said :

> In Calcutta, the sources from which capital is drawn for enterprise with which members of this Chamber are concerned are two-fold: Europeans in India and the United Kingdom.

Even those with limited knowledge of European business in Calcutta are aware that the Bengal Chamber of Commerce is the stronghold of British big business that is to say of people engaged in commercial pursuits and of those connected with the various managing agency firms which control jute, tea, coal and inland transport industries.

It is true that of late a certain percentage of jute shares has passed to Marwaris but these, generally used as counters for speculation, are rarely looked on as investments for profits. Excepting these, the bulk of the shares are held by non-Indians.

Dr. Vera Anstey on page 209 of her *Economic Development in India* explains the British concentration on these industries in the following way :

> The initiative . . . has lain mainly with Europeans, who also provided the bulk of the capital. Capital is dear, much of the interests and profits earned is payable in England, whilst only those industries have been promoted which appear most desirable in English eyes.

All these industries satisfy the first requirement—fairly high and regular dividend earning capacity while all except inland transport have earned phenomenal profits at certain times as is easily proved by the following quotation from page 221 of H. N. Brailsford's *Property or Peace* :

> It is usually estimated that from £600 to £700 millions of British capital are invested in India. Part of this capital is sunk in industries which in favourable years yield fabulous profits. Coal mines have been known to pay 100 and 120 per cent on a daily wage of 8d. Out of 51 jute mills, 32 paid as much as 100 per cent in one or more years between 1918 and 1927 ; 29 never paid less than 20 per cent, and 10 never less than 40 per cent. During the early post-war years the profits of these jute mills ranged from six to eight times their total wages bill. For every £12 that they paid in wages to their Indian workers, they remitted £100 in profits to their shareholders in Scotland.

(To be continued)

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ROMESH CHUNDER DUTT

A Champion of the Indian People

By NARAYAN C. CHANDA, M.A.

The later half of the 19th century of the Christian era had witnessed a glorious Intellectual Revolution in Bengal. It had been a period of ferment. The Western mind came in contact with the Eastern. The soul of India was stirred. It threw off the shackles of age-worn tradition and convention and sought new light and expression in a new-found-land. The spark of the ignited minds could be seen and felt in almost every sphere of national life—social, political, religious, cultural. And it is the life and activities of this band of worthy sons that have shaped Bengal, and in a way India also, of today. The giants of the 19th century have been makers of an age.

The race of Civilian officials, of whom Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt was a bright specimen, has unfortunately been extinct. Native Civilians have multiplied now-a-days. But where is that unextinguishable fire of patriotism, courage of conviction, bold outspokenness, breadth of vision, depth of wisdom and abiding love for the mass of the people that characterised Mr. Dutt? None among the native officials was more respected and trusted by Government than he for efficiency, reasonableness and moderation. And none at the same time was more feared by Government for the spirited advocacy of the cause of the aggrieved people that he espoused of his own accord. Mr. Dutt was a brilliant scholar. "He was a man amongst men, a prince among his peers (*primus inter pares*)," says Sir Surendranath Banerjea. Romesh Chunder had a clear brain that could grasp hard facts and use them with force in support of his arguments. He wielded a forceful pen and could write English with so much ease and grace as a few Britons of his time could do. Coming as he did, in close touch with the English literature and English society, he imbibed a genuine admiration for the noble traits of English character, namely, freedom of thought, love of independence and of fair-play. But he did not sell his soul and spirit in exchange of high honour and position that Government conferred upon him. A keen student of history, Mr. Dutt was not oblivious of India's past and not without hope for her bright future. In fact, he was proud of his motherland's past glories and exhorted his countrymen to re-build her future by their work and devotion.

Placed in the foremost rank of native officials (Mr. Dutt was the first Indian to rise to the post of Commissioner of a Division) he was not unware of the sorry plight of the tillers of the soil, a race of dumb, resourceless humanity that produces wealth only to wallow in perpetual penury. Mr. Dutt with his practical wisdom, mastery of facts and burning sympathy for the oppressed was rightly looked upon as a god-gift by the agricultural people of India. He had the strength of a Hercules and the love of a mother for his suffering countrymen. He initiated the movement for the amelioration of the lot of the peasants. India could not have found a bolder and wortheir fighter for her people's cause.

In course of his presidential address at the 15th meeting of the Indian National Congress at Lucknow (1899) he charged Government with ruining the Indian agriculturists and of throwing them in the jaws of recurring famines by exacting too much as land revenue assessments. This charge roused a controversy over the agrarian problems in India which was echoed in the British Parliament too. In support of his views and to make the controversy more poignant Mr. Dutt published in England *Famines in India* and widely distributed copies of the same among the British public. This was followed by another publication, more exhaustive and thought-provoking in nature, namely, The *Economic History of India*. In these books Mr. Dutt focussed a flood of light on the weak spots of the administrative machinery and exposed the loopholes through which the resources of the country are being drained by the alien rulers. Facts are always incontrovertible. And when a responsible personage like Mr. Dutt upon whom the British Government showered honours and favours like flowers from heaven assailed the authorities, there was much heart-burning amongst some section of the English and Anglo-Indians. They expected Mr. Dutt to be docile and obliging like a royal tiger, made drowsy under the influence of drugs, in a circus show. But when contrary to their wishes, Mr. Dutt held Government responsible for financial ruin and the chronic crushing poverty of the Indian people, they must have exclaimed in their heart, "Thou too Brutus!" The *Civil and Military Gazette* indirectly charged Mr. Dutt of ingratitude and disloyalty when it remarked:

"But for the British rule in India Mr. Dutt, with all his ability, could not have hoped to rise above the position, perhaps, of Amil under some Muhammadan

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or Mahratta Sardar. His salary might have been 50 rupees with pickings. To the British Government he owes education, opportunity, high offices, dignity, large pension, and freedom to malign it."

Mr. Dutt claimed that the Government should not ignore the people altogether but give them a real share in the administration of their own affairs and respect their views on matters vitally affecting their material well-being.

Economic Views

While dealing with the true causes of Indian poverty and Indian famines under the British rule Mr. Dutt remarks :

"The sources of a nation's wealth are Agriculture, Manufacture and Commerce, and these are conserved by a sound financial administration. While British rule in India has brought the manifold blessings of peace and a wider civilisation, it has not widened the sources of national wealth of the country from an Indian point of view, and has therefore not improved the material condition of the mass of the people to any marked extent."

India is pre-eminently an agricultural country. And hence agriculture should have received the widest patronage of the Government if the people were sought to be saved from famines. The Indian Famine Commision of 1898 suggested the adoption of irrigation works on a wide scale. But the pressure put by the British capitalists on the Indian Government for expansion of railways was more weighty than the life-and-death question of the natives of India. 'The railway system does not add one single blade of corn to the food supply of the country, while irrigation works double the food supply, save crops, and prevent famines.' Yet railways, like fowler's mesh of iron, have been flung over the face of the country. Lively rivers have been strangulated and fertility of the soil sapped thereby. Mr. Dutt is full of anguish when he writes :

"During a century and a half of British rule the whole country could have been covered with irrigation works. All the provinces could have been protected against the effect of droughts. The food supply of India could have been increased and made constant. *But by a fatal unwisdom and want of foresight, railways have been fostered and irrigation neglected in India.* Out of 220 million acres of cultivated land in India, not much over 20 millions are protected by irrigation works." (Italics mine).

Since the fall of Burma in Japanese hands the food problem in Bengal has been a distressing factor. Why has the land of "milk and honey" been reduced to a home of half-fed rickets and famished skeletons ? Reckless construction of railway lines and bridges in disregard to the importance and utility of the passage of flood waters and the neglect of irrigation are the main causes of the deterioration of agriculture and the consequent shortage of foodgrains. Dr. Bentley, formerly Director of Public Health, Bengal, observes :

"With adequate irrigation facilities, Bengal could feed the whole of India. If the existing rice-fields of Bengal gave a yield per acre as high as those in Spain, they would suffice for this purpose. If they yielded as well as the rice fields of Japan, they would feed 200 millions of people."

Bengal soil has been starved. And consequently the country has to pay the heavy penalty in the loss of nearly 20 lakhs of souls as famine casualty in course of a year.

Manufacture and commerce of the country, once renowned for her fine and finished products, extensive trade and fabulous riches have been crippled. This would not have happened had the foreign rulers been mere governors and not traders themselves. India, helpless in the grip of England and with her destinies entrusted to the care of the British people, was looked upon not only as a subject possession but also as a rival in commercial and manufacturing pursuits. She has been patiently and systematically disabled as a competitor and reduced to the status of an ever dependent consumer of finished goods made by the ruling race and carried by the same to our shores. The "wealth of Ind" had once secured a place in the mythical stories of the West. The Indian craftsmen and artisans had been universally praised for their skill. They had once been prosperous and flourishing. But now India is the poorest country in the British empire and her people a race of paupers. Why ? Mr. Dutt has diagnosed the malady aright. It is, he says, the drain on the financial resources of India that impoverishes the people. The writer's statement on the subject bears reproduction *in extenso* :

"One-fourth of all revenues derived in India is annually remitted to England as Home Charges. And if we add to this the portion of their salaries which European officers employed in India annually remit to England, the total annual drain out of Indian revenues to England considerably exceeds 20 millions. The richest country on earth stoops to levy this annual contribution from the poorest. Those who earn £42 per head ask for 10s. per head from a nation earning £2 per head. And this 10s. per head which the British people draw from India impoverishes British trade with India. The contribution does not benefit British commerce and trade, while it drains the life-blood of India in a continuous, ceaseless flow."

Again :

"The total Land Revenue of India was 17½ millions in 1900-1. The total of Home Charges in the same year came to 17 millions. It will be seen, therefore, that an amount equivalent to all that is raised from the soil, in all the Provinces of India, is annually remitted

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out of the country as Home Charges. An additional sum of several millions is sent in the form of private remittances by European officers, drawing their salaries from the Indian revenues."

India has of late been known as a proverbially poor country with heavy, ever-increasing public debts. She is being administered as a deficit concern. Mr. Dutt dispels the erroneous notion of the public about the causes of such debts. He observes :

"A very popular error prevails in this country that the whole Indian debt represents British capital sunk in the development of India. It can be shown that this is not the genesis of the Public Debt of India. When the East India Company ceased to be rulers of India in 1858, they piled up an Indian debt of 70 millions. They had in the meantime drawn a tribute from India, financially an unjust tribute, exceeding 150 millions, not calculating interest. They had also charged India with the cost of Afghan wars, Chinese wars, and other wars outside India. *Equitably, therefore, India owed nothing at the close of the Company's rule; her Public Debt was a myth, there was a considerable balance of over 100 millions in her favour out of the money that had been drawn from her.*" (Italics mine.)

Mr. Dutt appeals to the good sense and impartial judgment of the wider public when he writes :

"The history of Indian Debt is a distressing record of financial unwisdom and injustice; and every impartial reader can reckon for himself how much of this Indian Debt is morally due from him."

Finally he sums up thus the position of India so far as her wealth and resources are concerned :

"These are the plain facts of the economic situation in India. Given these conditions, any fertile, industrious, peaceful country in the world would be what India is to-day. If manufacturers were crippled, agriculture overtaxed, and a third of the revenue remitted out of the country, any nation on earth would suffer from permanent poverty and recurring famines. *Economic laws are the same in Asia as in Europe. If India is poor to-day, it is through the operation of economic causes.* (Italics mine.)

What Mr. Dutt wrote about half a century ago is applicable today with as much aptitude and poignancy as then. Nothing worth mentioning has been done in these years to revive manufacture and commerce of the people. Bengal with her rich soil and the possibility of surplus crops has deteriorated into a deficit province as regards food supply for her own population. She has of late had to depend upon Burma rice for feeding her children. And the famine of 1943 has served as an eye-opener. Famines with greater or smaller intensity and extensity has been a curse and a blot on British rule in India. Mr. Dutt could recollect horrors of ten such famines in course of forty years. He was pained that no vigorous endeavours were made to permenently safeguard the people against the ravages of such disasters. The calamities of the people roused his sympathies and put words into his tongue. He spoke warmly and boldly as a spokesman of the dumb suffering humanity. In course of his spirited speech at Madras in 1902, while reviewing the general economic and political conditions of the people, he said :

" . . . Never were greater misfortunes and deaths crowded together within so brief a space. Never did a civilised, fertile, and industrious country present a scene of more widespread poverty and desolation."

In the same speech he feelingly described the miseries of the people which are a perfectly true picture of the calamities of 1943 also. He said :

"If there is one object which should be above the sphere of party controversy and should appeal to the humanity of all, it is the subject of those famines which are desolating the country so frequently in recent years. And if any of you, gentlemen, have visited relief centres as I have recently done, and seen hundreds and thousands of starving and tottering men and women, our brothers and our sisters, crawling along the roads, resting under trees, lying down on the wayside perhaps to die before the hands of relief can reach them, you will have felt, as I felt, that this calamity, this overwhelming scene of human suffering and distress and death cries to Heaven for a permanent redress."

A true friend of the Indian people, Mr. Dutt was a dreamer of bright dreams. He was an indefatigable worker, a robust optimist. He trusted in India's future greatness and instilled that noble rage in all those who came in contact with him. Mr. Dutt was a cosmopolitan. He won the hearts of many by the charm of his character and through his numerous writings. He was a finished epistoler. Among many others he made the acquaintance of the Begum of Janjira. To this lady he addressed a fine poem wherein he suggests how real service to the Motherland may be rendered. The poem has a pointed bearing on the present-day politics. We quote below a stanza and a portion of the other :

Help the son of loom and anvil,
Raise the tiller of the soil,
Trust in duty humbly rendered,
Trust in India's future star,
And our unborn sons and daughters
Shall be higher than we are.

* * *

Caste and creed will often wrangle,
Tear apart those who are one,
Greed and selfishness will hinder
What by selfless work is won;
But true-hearted men and women
Moslem or of Hindu faith,
Love of men their high religion,
Serve their country until death.

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Unity among the people and sustained efforts for the realisation of the great goal—self-government attained by the people—were the watch-words of Mr. Dutt. He had a shrewd suspicion that greed and selfishness reared and fostered by interested quarters, might hinder the progress of the selfless band of workers. He could prophesy from his fund of political wisdom that division in the rank would weaken motherland's cause. This should not be allowed. Caste and creed should be subservient to the noblest cause of the land of birth.

"This", says Mr. Dutt in course of his speech at Lucknow in 1908, "is Dharma; it is the duty of every nation to strive for progress, as it is the endeavour of the plant to seek for light. If we are true to ourselves in educational and social reforms, in industrial and political endeavours, our future is assured. Every act of self-seeking and untruth holds us back; every act of self-sacrifice and devotion sees us further on our onward march."

All the political writings of Mr. Dutt were published in English as they were meant as much for the Indian public as for the British. To the larger section of Bengal literates he is known as only a historical novelist of repute who had Sir Walter Scott and Bankim Chunder as his model. It is time that his political aspirations, his sympathies, his unremitting exertions in the cause of his motherland and brother citizens were widely known, evaluated and appraised.

U. N. R. R. A. AND INDIA

By ASHUTOSH DAS

The present war has set the mightiest machine of destruction in motion. The ruthless and organised exploitation of resources both physical and human, has depleted the material stocks of the world. The whole apparatus of productive forces has been overworked and is to be reconditioned. These will greatly intensify the forces leading to instability in the post-war world. Therefore, it is necessary and wise to devise policies in advance if the risk of economic depression and unemployment is to be mitigated in post-war years. It should be thoughtout beforehand to adopt means and measures by which as smooth a transition as possible can be effected from war to peace economy.

The bitter experience of the reconstruction of Europe after the last Great War of 1914-18, is a sharp pointer in this direction. After the war of 1918, there was terrible difficulty and dislocation in making deliveries to some devastated countries of Europe specially to some parts of Eastern and Central Europe. To avoid any such difficulty in post-war years, this time a comprehensive and well-thought-out plan has to be chalked out. The feeding of Europe after the war will be more than a matter of immediate relief shipments, urgent as these undoubtedly will be. It may well be a sound financial and economic policy for governments in a position to do so to make contributions in order to expedite the revival of economic activity in stricken areas. Nothing is gained by dressing such relief in deceptive financial attire.

Therefore, with a view to give relief to disabled and displaced persons and rehabilitate them to proper spheres and positions, as well as to reconstruct devasted territories, at the instance of the British Government the Inter-Allied Post-War Requirements Committee was formed in London in September, 1941. It consisted in the main of the European exiled governments and the British Government. U. S. A., and Soviet Union were also invited to join the team. The Soviet Government only appointed an observer. The U. S.A., at first, had been an observer, but later on took part in the regular work of the Committtee.

After the entry of Japan into the war, the Far Eastern Zone was in a state of ferment. Japan occupied a considerable part of territories in South-East Asia. So, necessity was felt to expand the scope of the Inter-Allied Post-War Requirements Committee, which was mainly concerned with the task of re-establishing production and civilian life in the occupied countries of Europe. Both the Soviet Government and U. S. A. Government, who were more or less outside the Committee, put forward suggestions for the creation of a truly international organisation to restore civilian life and to take up post-war relief work in all war-stricken areas in post-war years. The Government of Great Britain, the U. S. A., the Soviet Union and China held discussions for a long time and in June, 1943, the U. S. A. Government put forth for discussion a draft document envisaging a scheme to establish an organisation called the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

To give a final shape to U. N. R. R. A. (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration), representatives of 44 Govern-

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ments affiliated to the United Nations, joined a ceremony held at the White House, Washington, on the 9th November, 1943, and signed the agreement implementing the various proposals for U. N. R. R. A. The next day, the representatives of these Nations met at Atlantic City, New Jersey, in the first session of the Council. The Council met continuously for three weeks to frame its plan and programme. The Council is vested with the supreme authority of laying down policies and also general policies of administration. Every country has one representative only to the Council irrespective of her size or population. Under this Council which is the supreme policy-making body, there are four Committees. The first one is the Central Committee composed of the four powers, *viz.*, U. S. A., U. K., Soviet Union and China. The Central Committee has got to exercise the power vested in the Council during adjournments of the Council. But on important matters affecting the policy and principles of the Administration, the ratification of the Council will be imperative. There is also a proviso that if any decision is to be taken in which the interests of any particular country or countries are involved, then the country or countries so concerned will be invited to participate in the deliberations of the Central Committee. The second is a Committee of Supplies made up of the principal supply nations, the third is a Committee on European Relief, while the fourth is a committee for the Far East and consists of the representatives of Australia, China, New Zealand, the Philippines, the U. K., the U. S. A., the Netherlands and the French National Committee.

Now the agreement for U. N. R. R. A. contains ten articles incorporated in it. The salient features of the Articles are given below :

Article 1—The administration shall have power to acquire, hold and convey property, to enter into contracts and undertake obligations, to review the activities of agencies so created, to manage undertakings and in general to perform any legal act appropriate to its objects and proposals. Further, it is to plan, co-ordinate, administer or arrange for the administration of measures for relief of victims of war in any area under the control of any of the United Nations through the provision of food, fuel, clothing, shelter and basic necessities, medical and other essential services, and to facilitate in such areas, so far as is necessary the adequate provision of relief, the production and transportation of these articles and the furnishing of these services.

Article 2—The members of the U.N.R.R.A. shall be the Governments or authorities as may upon application of membership be admitted thereto by sanction of the Council.

Article 3.—Each member government shall name one representative and such alternates as may be necessary, upon the Council of the U.N.R.R.A., which shall be the policy-making body of the Administration. The Council shall, for each of its sessions, select one of its members to preside at the session. The Council shall be convened in regular session not less than twice a year by the Central Committee. The Central Committee of the Council shall consist of all the members of the Council or their alternates of member governments within the European area. The Committee of the Council for the Far East shall consist of all the members of the Council or their alternates, representing member governments of territories within the Far Eastern Area.

Article 4.—The Executive authority of the U.N.R.R.A. shall be in the Director-General who shall be appointed by the Council on the nomination by unanimous vote of the Central Committee.

Article 5.—In so far as is appropriate the Constitutional bodies shall authorise each member government to contribute to the support of the administration.

Article 6.—The Director-General shall submit to the Council an annual budget and from time to time such supplementary budgets as may be required, covering the necessary administrative expenses of the Administration.

Article 7.—While hostilities or other military necessities exist in any area, the Administration and its Director-General shall not undertake activities therein without the consent of the military command.

Article 8.—The provisions of the agreement may be amended by two-thirds votes of the Council.

Article 9.—The agreement shall generally come into force with respect of each signatory on the date when the agreement is signed.

Article 10.—Any member government may give notice of withdrawal from the Administration at any time after the expiration of six months from the entry of that Government.

The birth of the U. N. R. R. A. is not due to solely humanitarian motive but to the grim necessities of war. The U. N. R. R. A. will face one of the most formidable tasks that have risen to perplex the nations of the earth. The broad principle of the U. N. R. R. A. is that each nation should endeavour to bear its share of the sacrifice. The liberated people will require 50,000,000 tons of food-stuffs, raw materials and other articles of prime necessity in the first six months after the war. The essence of the scheme is that all should draw upon a common pool of supplies and transport. Relating to the relief to be required for China it is estimated that out of 460 million population of China approximately 200 million have their homes in occupied China and in the war zones. 220 million live in free China and 10 million are displaced persons. Of the 200 million in occupied China about 30 per cent will need relief, *i.e.*, 60 million. Of the 40 million war refugees, about 60 per cent will need relief, that is 24 million. The total population needing relief comes to the figure of 84 million. In Russia also about 10 to 12 million people will have to be rehabilitated. Besides this relief over 20,000,000 people will require to be repatriated when the 'cease fire' order is given.

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The repatriation may land the population to the danger of epidemics. Therefore, the medical side of the U. N. R. R. A. will have to discharge important activities. It is surmised that the nine European countries under U. N. R. R. A. will need 45,000,000 tons of supplies for the first six months after liberation. If the various European countries were left to compete for the limited supply of goods when the war ends, the result would lead to competitive buying and forcing up prices in a progressive inflationary spiral. Therefore, failure to organise relief and rehabilitation would postpone indefinitely a return to conditions which will render the resumption of commerce or anything like its pre-war scale possible.

The U. N. R. R. A. has laid it down that supplies made available to small countries should not be limited to their ability to provide foreign exchange in payment of deliveries or shipping for the transport of goods The main beneficiaries of the scheme will largely be the smaller countries. The powers which will generally make the greatest contribution will be those which will derive the least advantage except in the sense that all of them are interested in the earliest possible resumption of International Trade.

At the first session of the Council of the U. N. R. R. A. held in U. S. A., some resolutions were adopted respecting the repatriation of displaced persons. The Council recommended that the member government and the Director-General of the U. N. R. R. A. should exchange information on all phases of the problem, including such matters as the numbers and places of temporary residence of the nationals of other countries, or stateless persons, with their territories. Its further recommendations are that member governments should consult and give full aid to the Director-General, so that he might in concert with them, plan, co-ordinate, administer or arrange for the administration of orderly and effective measures for the return to their homes, of prisoners, exiles and other displaced persons.

The question of the assistance to be given by the Administration as regards rehabilitation of persons displaced by enemy or ex-enemy intruders in their homes from which nationals of the United Nations had been expelled, should be considered a separate issue. The Committee on Health of the U. N. R. R. A. should co-operate with the Health Authorities of various countries concerned at the initiative of the Director-General and also with such agencies as the International Red Cross and the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees.

For working the scheme embodied in U. N. R. R. A. a large sum of money is to be raised. So, it was at first settled that financial contributions by the member governments would be based on the principle that each nation whose country had not been occupied by the enemy, should pay a sum equivalent to 1 per cent of its national income for year ending 30th June, 1943. On this basis Britain's contribution will be in the neighbourhood of £80,000,000 while the U. S. A. will be paying $1,350,000,000, that is, about 65% of the total estimated $2,000,000,000 of the U. N. R. R. A. funds. Under the agreement India is free to determine the amount and nature of its contribution and also to choose the manner in which supplies should be provided or procured. Later on some modifications were also made by the Council of the U. N. R. R. A. for assessing the amount of the contribution. The Council recognises that there are cases in which the recommendations of the 1 per cent contribution of the national income of each member government may conflict with particular demands arising from the contribution of war or may be excessively burdensome because of special situations. Therefore, the Council has made a provision that the amount and character of the contribution recommended is subject to special conditions.

Considering all these factors it may be said that the U. N. R. R. A. in a sense is the first international organisation to operate in this war. Its constitution providing for regional councils in Europe and Asia and for the exercise of policy and executive power has established a model.

On November 9, 1943, the representative of the Government of India signed the agreement of U. N. R. R. A. On the 4th April, 1944, Sir M. Azizul Haque, Member for Commerce, Industries and Civil Supplies, Government of India, moved the following resolution in the Indian Legislative Assembly :

"This Assembly approves of the U.N.R.R.A. Agreement, signed at Washington on November 9, 1943. In expressing its approval this Assembly recommends that any area important for the military operations of the United Nations should be included in the benefits to be made available by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration."

The Assembly after discussions on the proposals passed the resolution.

It is, therefore, a patent fact that India is closely associated with the U. N. R. R. A. and actively interested in its affairs. The estimate of India's share of administrative expenses is roughly Rs. 13 lakhs for the year 1943-44. Sir

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Azizul Haque also said in the Assembly that India's general contribution should be Rs. 8 to 10 crores. But some members of the Assembly thought it expedient that India should only contribute 2 per cent of the Government of India's budgetary income, that is, about Rs. 5½ crores. Sir Azizul Haque informed the Assembly that it would be open to the Government of India to settle the terms under which the appropriation should be made either in the field of foreign credit or in the shape of supplies excepting that India would have to pay for American currency or British currency to the extent of 10 per cent of India's total contributions.

The most pertinent question is as to what is the benefit that India would derive from U. N. R. R. A. Regarding this some justified suspicion arose after the formal inauguration of U. N. R. R. A., when the question of Bengal famine was raised before the Council of the U. N. R. R. A. through a letter by Mr. J. J. Singh, President of the India League of America, addressed to Mr. Dean Acheson, the Chairman of U. N. R. R. A.; the latter replied to Mr. Singh that the unfortunate situation in Bengal was not within the competence of the Council to discuss at that session.

However, after groping through much technical and legal formulas rather than which was practical and expedient, the U. S. A. House of Representatives passed an amendment of the Congressman Karl Mundt to the U. N. R. R. A. Bill in following terms :

"In expressing its approval of this Act, it is the recommendation of the Congress that, in so far as funds and facilities permit, any area important to the United Nations' military operations which may be stricken by famine or disease shall be included in the benefits available through the U.N.R.R.A."

Another problem of major importance is as to who are the persons to obtain relief from U. N. R. R. A. Now, it is estimated that the number of Indian evacuees to India from territories now under Japanese occupation is not less than 5 lakhs. Moreover, Indian population in the Far East where Japan dominated, will be about 13 to 14 lakhs. Indians born or permanently resident in Burma and Far East, who have sought refuge in India as a result of the war, are expected to have the help of the U. N. R. R. A. in their return home in the liberated territories after the end of the war. Indian nationals who before the war, normally resided in Burma and the Far East in order to earn their livelihood, will come to this category.

As to the question of the representation of India to U. N. R. R. A., there are also prominent factors to be reckoned with. If India's goods should specially be earmarked for countries, such as Burma, China, Malaya, etc., then it is quite reasonable to demand that as many Indians as possible should be represented on the administrative and technical staffs of the U. N. R. R. A. It is now understood that India will be entitled to the membership of the Far Eastern Regional Committee of U. N. R. R. A., one of whose functions will be to advise the Director-General of the U. N. R. R. A. on the organisation of measures to assist displaced persons. India will also be represented on the Technical Committee on Displaced Persons, which the Council of the U. N. R. R. A. has decided to set up.

But still the position of India in the U. N. R. R. A. organisation is of an inferior status. India has not been taken in the Central Committee of the Council of the U. N. R. R. A. India has legitimate grievances for this. India is now the main supply and defence base of the East Asia war theatre of the United Nations. Therefore, it behoves that Indian representatives should be taken in the Central Committee.

The intents and purposes of U. N. R. R. A., so far adumbrated, seem to be well-meant. But still it must be said that it has not been ushered into being only to show the philanthropic motive of the U. S. A. and U. K., who will contribute the major portion of the expenses of U.N.R.R.A. If the distress of India's mainland has been brought within the scope of the relief of the U. N. R. R. A., it has been done mainly for the interests of the United Nations. It is to the advantage of the war efforts of the United Nations to ensure that another nightmare of famine does not stalk in India again, which is detrimental to the ultimate victory. In spite of this, India cannot wholeheartedly accept U.N.R.R.A. as an unmixed blessing. The reason is that unless and until India attains full status of national independence, India's representation in U. N. R. R. A. will be strictly official and bureaucratic. India's participation in U.N.R.R.A. will fail to create public confidence and enthusiasm. Then again, India can only contribute such consumer's goods and raw materials as she can spare with the least strain on its own economy. So long it is not definitely ensured that India will have an effective and potential voice in guiding the main policy of U.N.R.R.A. for India's benefits, her participation in this huge show will be one of forced and routine duty according to the dictates of the British Government.

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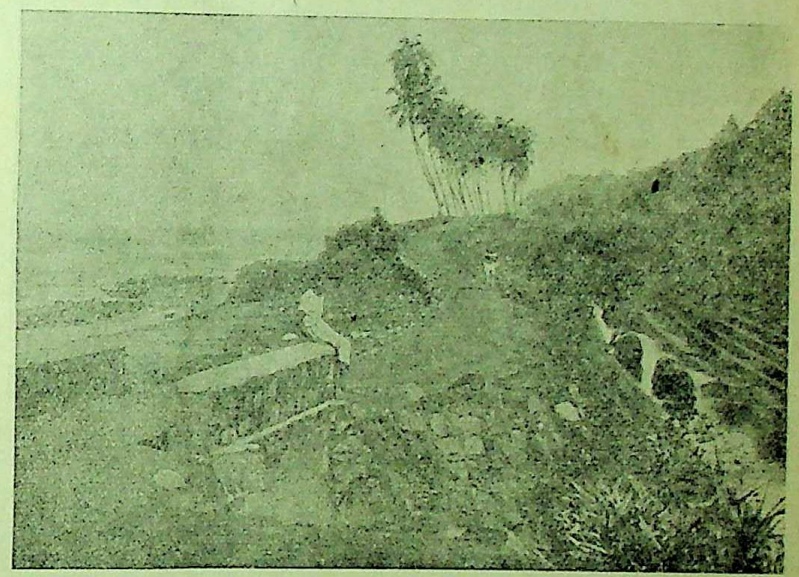
PICTURESQUE VARKALA

By K. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPY, B.A.

THE village of Varkala which lies about halfway between Trivandrum and Quilon is famous both as a sanatorium and a great pilgrim centre. Approached from either town by road, rail or canal, Varkala or *Janardanam* is considered as sacred as Benares and Gaya and always there is a rush of pilgrims from far and near to this hallowed spot highly favoured by Nature. The temple is dedicated to God Maha Vishnu, one of whose many names is Janardana. Hence the name of the place, *Janardanam*. Legend and history vie with each other to contribute to the sanctity and importance of this temple. Two interesting stories are current about the origin of this celebrated temple, ideally situated on a piece of cliffy headland and commanding a magnificent view of the neighbouring country.

The great Rishi Narada, whom the *Puranas* describe as the wandering minstrel and master mischief-maker, once visited the abode of Lord Vishnu. After a jovial conversation with the God, Narada peregrinated to the abode of Lord Brahma. Lord Vishnu, enraptured by the soul-entrancing and rapturous melodies from Narada's *veena*, followed the songster quietly and unobserved. Narada soon reached the mansion of God Brahma. To his great delight and astonishment Brahma noticed Lord Vishnu standing behind Narada. Immediately Brahma offered salutations to Vishnu. Maha Vishnu realising his delicate and embarassing position instantly vanished from there. When Brahma straightened himself after prostrating in front of Maha Vishnu he found to his utter bewilderment that he had fallen at the feet of Narada, his own son and not Lord Maha Vishnu. The attendant gods of Brahma, nine in number, known as the *Navaprajapatis* who were witnessing the strange turn of events burst out into hilarious laughter and cut jokes at the expense of Brahma. This excited Brahma's wrath and he in his boundless anger cursed the Navaprajapatis to be translated into mortals and decreed them to suffer the throes of birth and death. Narada consoled the nine attendant gods who were forthwith changed into human beings and counselled them to do penance and propitiate Maha Vishnu at a place which he would select by throwing his *valkalam* (garment made out of the bark of trees). The *valkalam* thrown by Narada fell on a tree now identified with the spot in front of the temple at Janardanam. Hence the name *Varkala*, a corrupt form of *Valkala*. Legend has it that the fallen Navaprajapatis built a temple here and consecrated it to Lord Maha Vishnu, the God of Protection in the Hindu Trinity. This temple is said to have been washed away by the sea sometime after the Navaprajapatis had left the place after regaining their original form.



A general view of Varkala—showing the sea, the road and the canal

Many years after, a mighty Pandyan monarch who was haunted by a *Brahma Rakshasa* (ghost of a Brahmin whom the king had accidentally killed) and who had made numerous pilgrimages to holy places throughout India, and performed numberless ceremonies to expiate his sin, but all to no avail, came to *Varkala*, on hearing about the sanctity of the place. To his great surprise the King found

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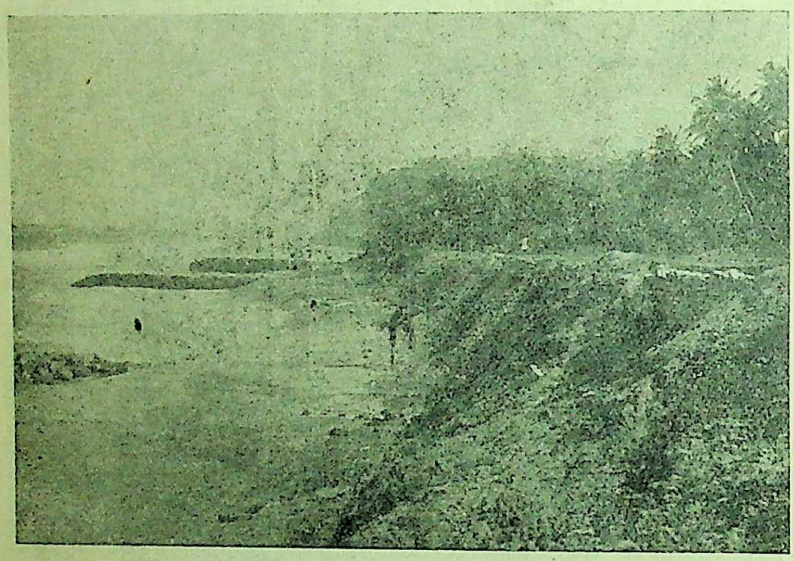
that no sooner had he set his foot on the soil of Varkala than the demon left his body. The Pandyan Potentate was overjoyed. The people of the locality advised him to build a temple in the place of the one swallowed by the sea. The King ordered a temple to be constructed and he personally supervised its construction. When the work was nearing completion the King had a dream one night. The God who appeared before the King in dream told him that on a certain day there would float on the sea at a particular spot some flowers and that underneath that surface would be found the original image consecreted by the Navaprajapatis. The God also ordained that the Pandyan King should install that image in the temple. Accordingly,



The famous cliffs at Varkala, portions of which rise abruptly from the beach

the image was brought up from the bottom of the sea by a fisherman; but the right hand of the image was found broken. The broken arm was however attached to the body. When, on an auspicious hour, the image was to be installed in the new shrine, all persons assembled there fell into a trance. On their recovery from the magic trance they found to their awe and amazement that Lord Brahma himself had come to the spot and disappeared after consecrating the image. The Pandyan King stayed at Varkala for some-time, endowed the temple liberally and left it after entrusting the management to a body of trustees, the chief of whom was Karuchadathu Pazhur Nambudiripad. The Nambudiripad and the other members of the Board of Trustees fell out after a time, and during the reign of Queen Umayamma Rani (1678-1684 A.D.) the management of the temple was taken over by the State. The deity's right hand is shaped as if holding water. Orthodox folk believe that holy water is slowly dripping from the hand of God Janardana and that when this process of dripping stops the world would reach the end of *Kali Yuga* and be destroyed.

Varkala is a famous pilgrim centre on account of its great antiquity and high sanctity. Orthodox Hindus from far and near flock to Varkala to perform *Sraddhas* (religious rites in honour of departed relations) and worship at this shrine. The shrine is ideally and picturesquely situated on a headland overlooking the sea. A flight of steps leads to the temple. An inscription dating 1252 A.D. indicates that the shrine was rebuilt that year. The Latin inscription on the huge temple bell reveals that it was made by the Dutch and presented to the temple by them. The bell used in the temple for announcing the daily *pooja* is the gift of the Captain of a Dutch ship. Many years ago, a Dutch vessel which was sailing south was becalmed just off the shore facing the shrine. The ship lay there for many weeks. One day the Captain of the ship who had heard about the prowess of God Janardana told the priest of the temple that he would give away his ship's bell to the shrine as a gift if a wind would blow. The priest offered prayers to the deity and a wind blew. The Captain kept his promise. The temple contains some of the finest specimens of sculptures and wood carvings. The stone figures of Nataraja, Manmatha and Rati which embellish the front porch of the shrine are masterpieces. The wooden figures on the ceiling of the *namaskara mandapa* are exquisite. The temple, imposing and solitary, stands conspicuous from afar, dominating Varkala. Varkala rose into prominence during the reign of His Highness the Maharaja Martanda Varma, the Maker of Modern Travancore. Aiyappan Martanda Pillai Dalawa who was the Prime Minister of the State from 1758 to 1763 A.D. ordered a number of *matoms* to be constructed close to the shrine at Varkala. These houses, twenty-four

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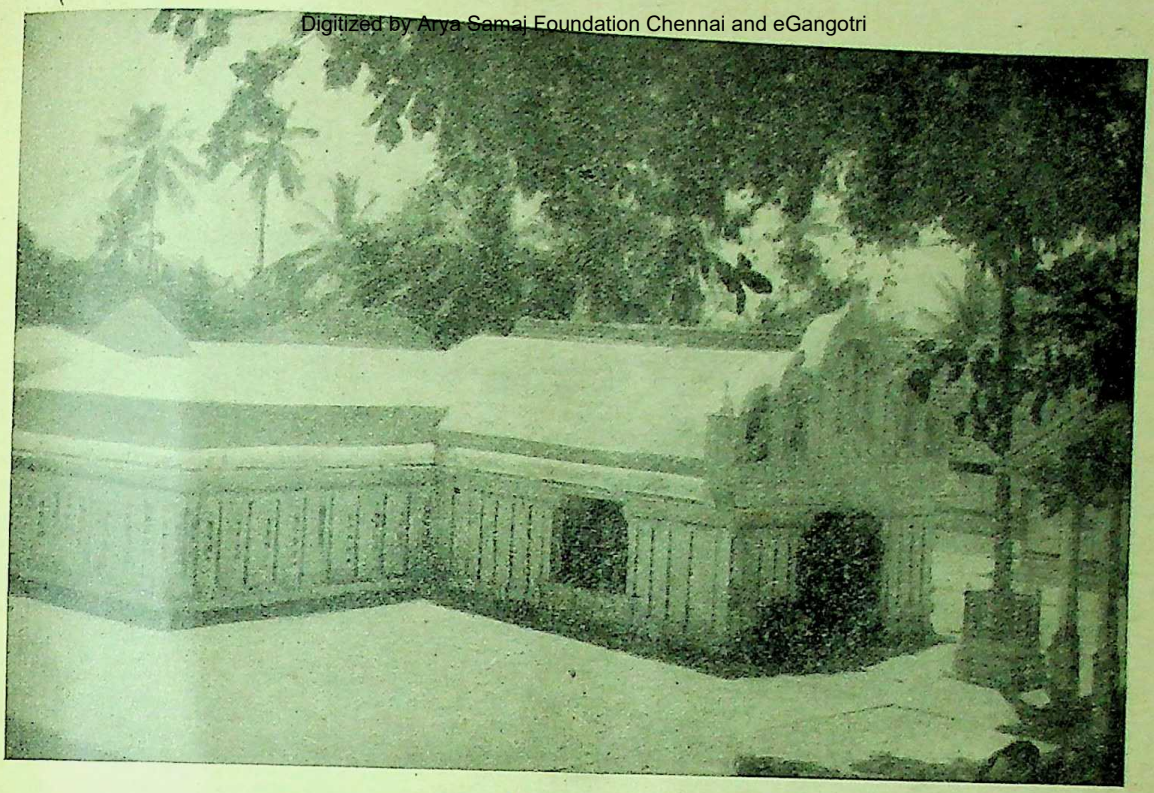
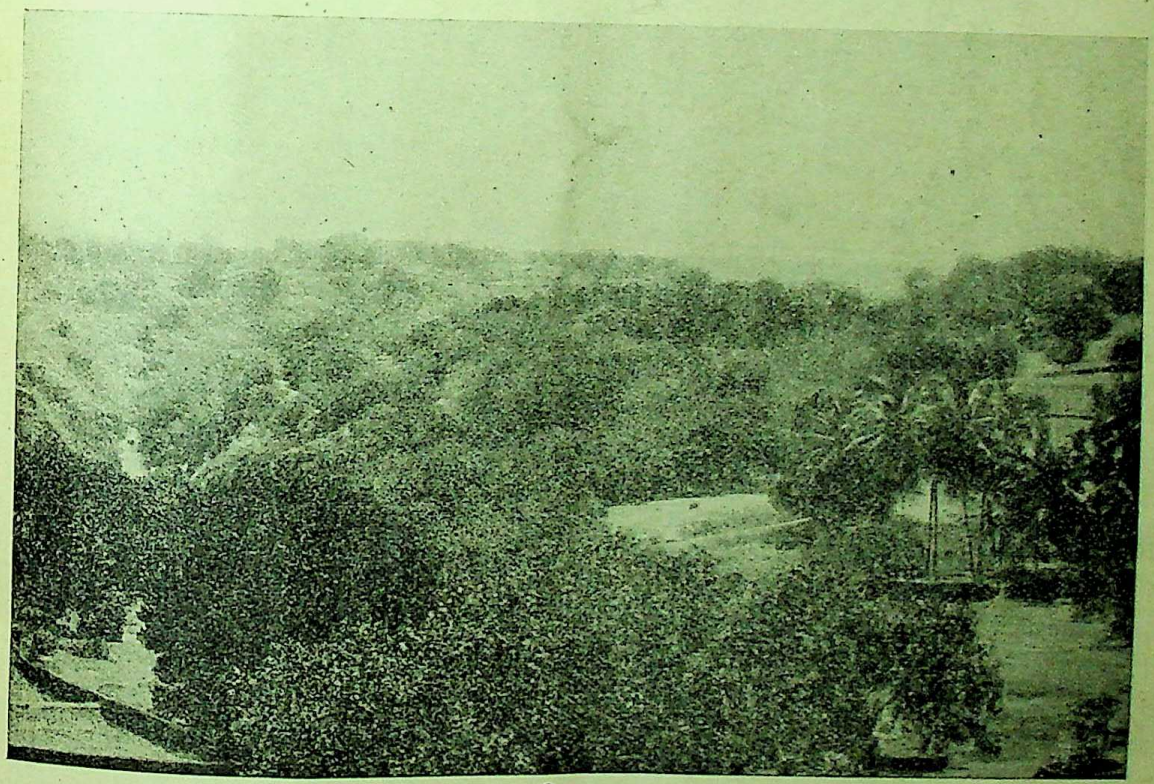


The Temple at Varkala



A general view of Varkala

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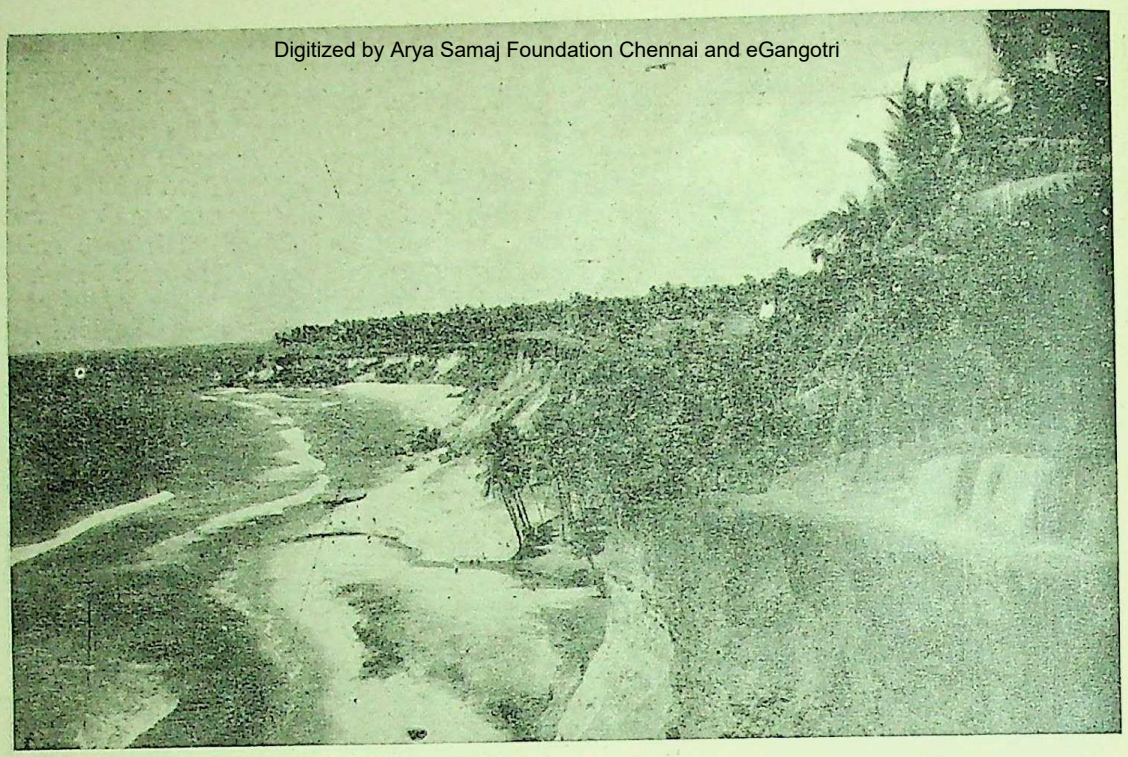
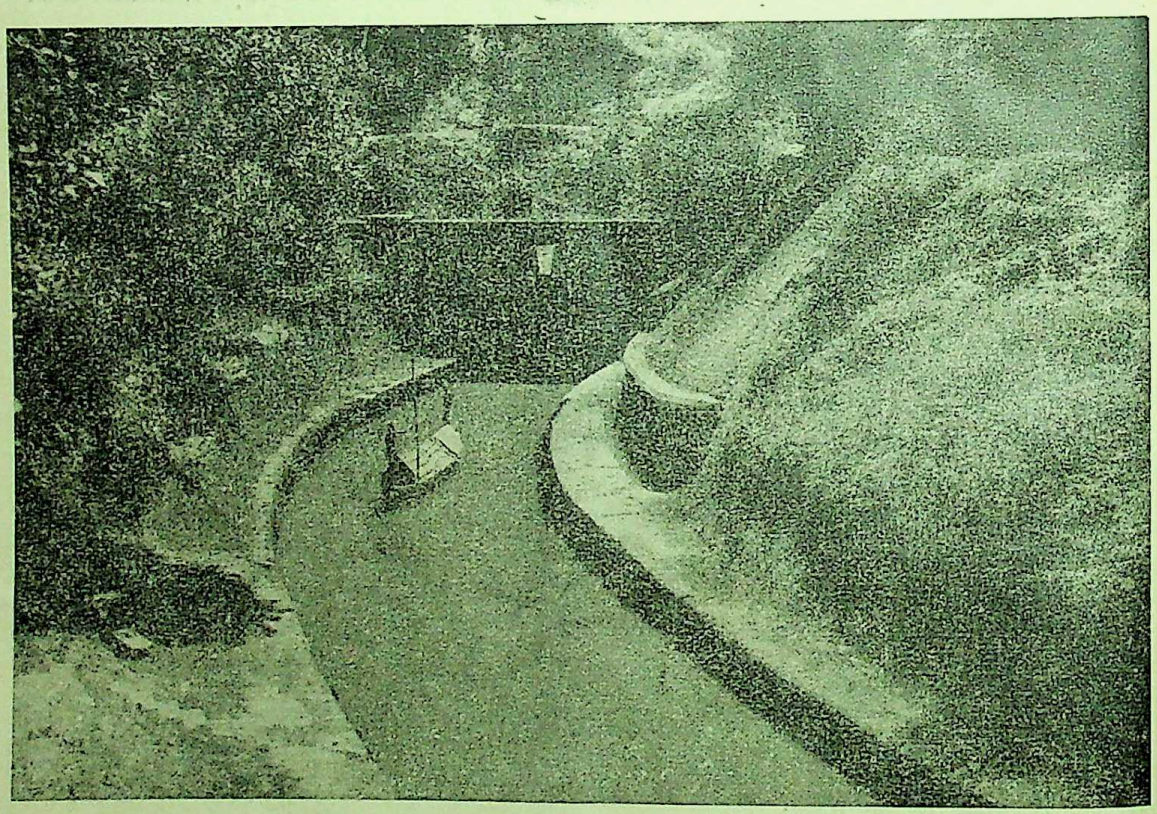


Varkala beach—with the cliffs



The entrance to the longer tunnel at Varkala

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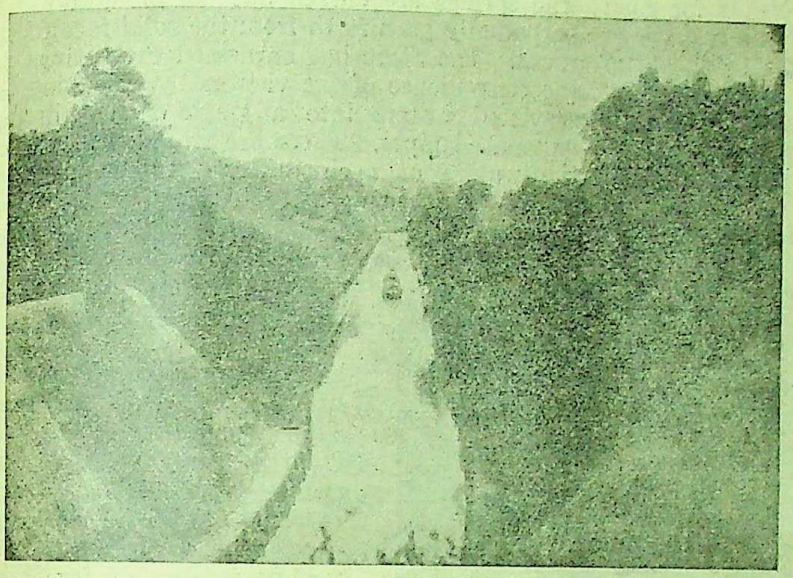
in number, were given away by the Maharaja as gifts to worthy Brahmins learned in religious lore. This provided a great impetus to people to come and settle down at Varkala, which till then was too poorly inhabited. Now Varkala is known throughout India as a celebrated pilgrim centre and health resort.

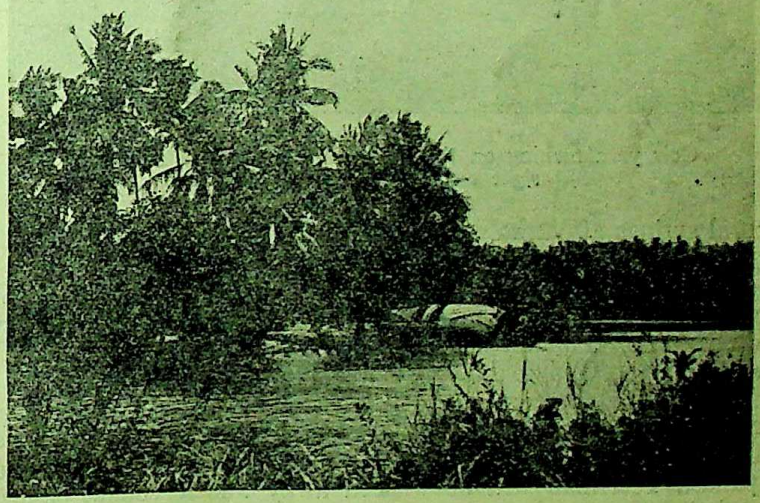


A view of the Varkala canal

At the foot of the sacred hillock the summit of which is adorned by the shrine is a beautiful tank which is separated from the hillock only by the road leading to the surf line. The tank receives its unending supply of crystal clear water from one of the subterranean streams which constitute the pride of Varkala. The stream which feeds the tank flows underneath the temple and the water with which the *abhishekam* (anointing with holy water) of the deity is performed is drawn from this tank. The underground stream falls into the tank in a lovely and lively leap. Bathers swim to this place to be purified and caressed by the cooling cascade of mineral water.

Varkala is very sacred to the Ezhavas, a progressive community in the State numbering more than 8 lakhs. Sivagiri, two miles from the Janardanam Temple, is a hallowed spot. It was here that Sree Narayana Guru Swami, the spiritual head of the Ezhavas, established a religious centre and consecrated the *Sarada Pradishta* in 1912 A.D. The Guru Swami gave up his mortal coil at Sivagiri and the place of his *samadhi* is supremely sacred to the Ezhavas. He was a modern Yogi, a great socio-religious reformer, and a Sanskrit scholar, who proclaimed the doctrine "One Caste, One Religion and One God for Mankind." Romain Rolland hailed Sri Narayana Guru as a "*Gnani* of action and a great religious man." Every year, during Chaitra Pournami in the month of April, devotees from far and near rush to Sivagiri to participate in the grand and spectacular anniversary celebrations of the Sarada Temple consecrated by Acharya Guru Swami. Varkala is then in her high splendour.

Varkala is a splendid sanatorium, pleasant alike to those who seek recreation and



On the water-route to Varkala—a view of the canal

invigoration and who long for quiet relaxation and idle dreaming. This first-rate spa and watering place is situated amidst sylvan surroundings of exquisite charm. The balmy and steady sea-breeze which continuously blows is in itself re-

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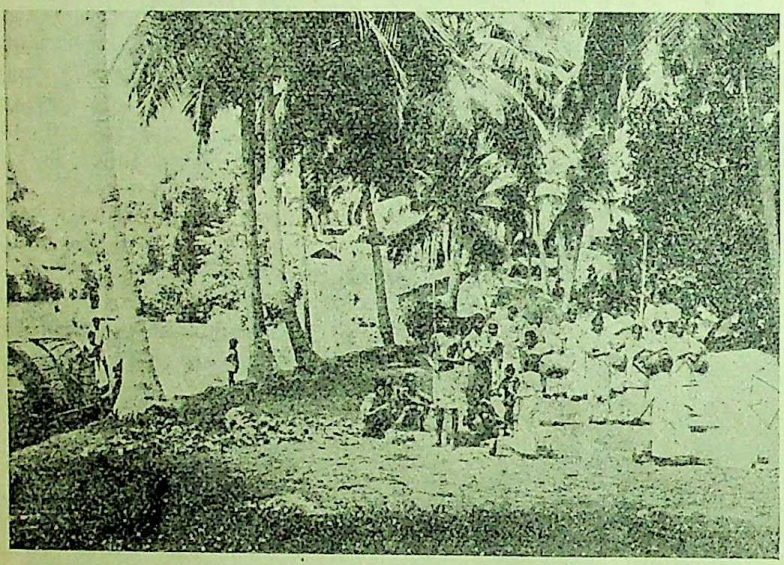
freshing. Varkala is blessed with three holy springs which are famous throughout India for their curative powers. They are popularly known as Chakra Teertham, Papanasa Teertham and Janardana Teertham. Legend and tradition aver that the Chakra Teertham was the result of the supplications of the Navaprajapatis to Maha Vishnu through Narada for good water. Maha Vishnu by the use of his *Sudarsana Chakram* caused the holy Ganges to shoot up from a spring underneath. It is believed by those who are steeped in orthodox faith that God Brahma performed a *yagam* (sacrifice) at Varkala and so the place was purified and turned into a sanatorium. The strata of lignite and the mineral waters bubbling forth from the



Coir yarn making on the banks of the canal—a familiar sight on the way to Varkala

natural springs at Varkala are attributed to this *yagam*. Tradition also relates that Parasurama who reclaimed the West Coast performed a great sacrifice at Varkala to make the land fertile and charming. Popular belief is that the water with which the God is daily anointed falls into the well on the northern side of the temple and shoots up again as several springs. Pious Hindus believe that the sins of those who bathe in the Papanasa Teertham will be washed away and that its waters are composed of the waters of the 66 crores of holy *teerthams* scattered throughout India. The mineral waters of Varkala have contributed to the growing popularity of the place as a sanatorium. A scientific examination of the waters of the Varkala springs has revealed that they are equal in curative properties to the mineral waters bubbling forth from the well-known spas and other watering places of Europe. The water here is wholesome and free from organic impurity. Ailing humanity groaning under pains of various kinds of rheumatism and skin diseases has found the Varkala springs working miraculous cures. The springs are unseen but the mineral waters perpetually gush forth from the solid face of the rocks. The State has harnessed the springs for the convenience of the visitors by collecting the scattered waters into a single spout through galvanised pipes. There are two sets of spouts, the waters of each differing in composition. Baths have been constructed to afford privacy to bathers. Varkala is a natural sanatorium with its perennial springs. It deserves to be called the Brighton of the East.

The red cliffs of Varkala look austere and magnificent. To gaze at these cliffs which rise abruptly from the seashore is to witness a grand sight. Stately cocoanut palms clothe the crest of the cliffs. A marvellous medley of ferns and bushes cover the flanks. Rugged—the partly strangely folded stratified rocks stand on guard round the cliffs greyish brown in shadow but shimmering in shades of red, yellow and brown when the sun warms them. The jagged and serrated ridges of the red cliffs cut sharply into the deep blue sky. The crystal clear waters of the ocean wash the foot of the cliffs and bedeck it with silvery foams. The destructive forces of the sea have cut ridges into the flanks of the cliffs. Nature revels at Varkala. The land ends in a dizzy cliff. The beach gleams. The gentle hills round the canal and the towering red cliffs near the seashore rise in delicate curves, imposing and lovely. Sixty and more feet above the visitor's head, the feathery leaves of the cocoanut palms wave; they have no community of action, but bow this way and that at their pleasure, only protesting unanimously if the breeze annoys them with full-volumed vigour. When the air is calm they converse with graceful gestures, beckoning with suavest invitation. Inland the plough cuts furrows. Warm breeze, mild and invigorating, caresses the entire area

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Colour and light enliven the landscape. Richly coloured and liquid sunshine characteristic of the bright tropical sun, renders the landscape and seascape smart and lively.

He who wishes to see and enjoy one of the most charming of marvels created by Nature's magic wand should travel in a canoe through the Varkala canal. Beautiful are the shores with whispering reeds, and cocoanut palms. This region is like a poet's dream and the most vivid imagination cannot conceive of anything more picturesque than the canal route. Both sides of the canal are heavily wooded to the water's edge. Varkala is a high promontory about six miles in breadth, the loftiest portions of which have been tunnelled in two places to a length of nearly one mile, while the remaining portions have been cut into a beautiful canal. A strip of land from seven to one and a half miles wide separates the canal from the sea. The Varkala tunnels, two in number which are standing monuments of engineering skill were completed in 1880. The big tunnel which pierces the Varkala cliffs is 2364 ft. long. The small tunnel is 924 ft. long. The maximum height of the tunnel is 17 ft., and the maximum width 16 ft. The lovely sight of the glistening fresh water stream from the interior emptying itself languorously into the sea after a tough fight with the fury of the breakers which seem to resent its entry into the ocean, is a thrilling sight. The battle between the stream and the surf fills the visitor with awe and wonder. Two hundred yards to the north of the Varkala beach is hidden a precious secret of Nature. There a bubbling stream shooting up from a subterranean source embraces the sea. This strange phenomenon has baffled geologists who endeavour to unveil this guarded mystery.

Mahatma Gandhi paid a fitting tribute to the charms of Varkala when he, in the course of a reply to an Address presented to him by the people of Varkala, spoke thus :—"You have tickled me by inviting me to come and settle down here. The temptation is really great. This is one of the pleasantest spots in India and the weather here is magnificent." This epitomises in a masterly manner the impressions of a visitor to Varkala, a Paradise on Earth.

EARLY HISTORY OF SILK IN BENGAL

By DEBAJYOTI BURMAN

India and China are the two oldest centres of sericulture and silk manufacture; but it was from India that silk was first introduced into Europe. The earliest varieties of silk were undoubtedly the product of the non-domesticated worm. No mention of the mulberry-eating silk worm has yet been discovered in the early Indian literature. There is one opinion that the domesticated silk worm is not an indigenous product of India, it has come from China. The Imperial Gazetteer of India[1] writes on the history of the silk industry in India :

> It is probably correct that the most ancient references to silk by Sanskrit authors denote one or other of the non-domesticated worms and not the true silk worm of modern commerce. All the passages that speak of the mulberry-worm in early Hindu literature refer to an imported and not a locally produced silk. Neither this worm nor the plant on which it feeds has ever been found in indigenous condition in India—certainly never in the parts of India where seri-culture exists.

1. *I.G.I.* Vol. IV, pp. 206-7.

Mention of silk garments is found in the contemporary literatures of India and China about 5000 years ago. In our Vedic and Epic literatures, mention is made of *Kausheya, Kshauma* and *Patta* cloths. From time immemorial "the natives (of Bengal and adjoining provinces) have manufactured this (Tussar) silk into cloth called *Tusseh-doot'hies*."[2]

Kautilya[3] mentions four varieties of textile commodities which were produced in Bengal in his time, *viz., kshauma, dukula, patrorna* and *karpasika*. Of these *kshauma* and *patrorna* were silk. "*Patrorna* appears to be wild silk. Amara (II. vi, 3, 14) defines it as 'a bleached or white *kausheya*,' while the commentator says that it was "a fibre produced by the saliva of a worm on the leaves of certain trees."[4] In the

2. Thomas Wardle, *Paris Industrial Exhibition 1878. A Monograph.*

3. *Arthasastra,* Bk. II, Ch. II.

4. *History of Bengal,* Vol. I, p. 655.

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Sabhaparva of the Mahabharata we find Sakas or Scythians from the northern Himalayas bring silk cloths as presents to Yudhisthira. Mention of Chinangshuk in Kalidasa's dramas does not prove that silk was not manufactured in this country. Even if there were indigenous produces, Chinese silk of different qualities might have been imported.

Earliest mention of silk in China is found in ancient Chinese literature where it has been stated that Tsi Ling Tsi, Queen of Emperor Hwang Ti, was the first to spin silk thread from the silk worm and weave silk cloth.[5] This was about 4600 years ago. It is, however, not at all clear whether these worms were wild or of the mulberry-eating variety.

The current belief that China was the first to cultivate and manufacture the mulberry-eating silk and that India imported them from China, needs close examination. It has been claimed that the Seres were the earliest people who knew silk. Ptolemy, Pomponius Mela, Pliny and Pausanias, all mention the Seres as celebrated for their silk. Arrian calls the country of the Seres, Thinae. *Se* is the name of silk in China and it is supposed that from this word the name of Seres is derived. "It was conjured by an ancient author, that the name, by which the silk worm was designated, was the origin of the term Seres."[6] Taylor has proved that the name of Seres occurred before it was known that silk was the production of an insect. Virgil, Dionysius and Pliny mention the Seres, but describe the silk as a substance that is obtained from the flowers or leaves of certain trees. It has been thought probable that the name of Seres was derived from a city of Sera. There is a place of this name, the site of a monastery, in the vicinity of Lhasa, which had been supposed by Malte Brun to be the Sera of the ancients. According to information supplied by Csoma de Koros, this monastery was built only in the 8th century, and it is obvious therefore that it is not the Sera of Ptolemy.[7] Taylor believes that the city of Sera stood near the sacred fountain of the Brahmaputra, and he identifies Seres with Assam. Taylor also regards the *Scythic* Seres as the Thinæ or Sinœ who occupied Upper Assam and the region extending to the Gulf of Siam, opposite to which was island of Abosa or Sacaia, which is apparently Java.[8] Pliny mentions the Seres as celebrated for silk which their woods produced. Taylor thinks that Pliny in describing the Seres, seems to allude to the aboriginal tribes of Rungpore bordering on Assam. The forests of their country produced silk (*tassar*) which was bartered on the banks of a river described as the first in their territory and which was perhaps the frontier between Bengal and Assam.[9] This barter has also been described by Arrian and Pomponius Mela. Pliny mentions that the first river in the country of the Seres was called Psitaras which may be taken to have been the Teesta in Rungpore. He said that in carrying on traffic with them, the merchants placed their merchandise on the further side of the river.

As regards the variety of silk manufactured by the Seres, the following statement of Dionysius needs examination :[10]

> He describes the Seres as possessing neither flocks nor herds, but as employed in gathering from the flowers of the desert, a substance that was carded and woven into precious or costly fabrics, which surpassed in the variety and richness of their colours the mingled beauties of the enameled mead, and which rivalled in their delicate texture, even the fineness of the spider's web. Taylor thinks that the material here referred to is *tassar* or *moonga* silk, which abounds in the forests or jungles of Assam (the desert *Aruna* mentioned in the text), and the rich and varied colours that are mentioned were no doubt, imparted to it by the indigenous dyes of Assam, namely, *lac, room, manjit,* and *mismee-tita,* which gave the beautiful red and blue colours with which the silks of that country are prepared in the present day.[11]

Which was the original home of the mulberry worm ? No definite answer has yet been returned to this query, but Taylor thinks that it was Bengal. He says :[12]

> The substance, the produce of the trees of these forests, which, after being sprinkled with water, is described as being spun out into the finest threads, is evidently the indigenous silk of Assam. There are six species of silk worms found in that country, namely the *mulberry worm,* the *eria,* the *muga* or *moonga,* the *kontkuri,* the *deo mooga* and the *naumpottanee.* The mulberry worm is supposed to have been originally introduced into Assam from Bengal, but the other five are indigenous to that country.

It may now be stated almost definitely that country of the Seres, the ancient home of sericulture, was Assam which might have included some portion of Northern Bengal within its boundary. It was from these Seres that knowledge of sericulture spread to Europe.

5. Rajendralal Mitra, *Silpik Darsan,* p. 33.
6. Taylor, *Remarks on the Sequel to the Periplus of the Erythrian Sea, J.A.S.B.* Jan. 1847, p. 64.
7. *Ibid,* p. 64.
8. *Ibid,* p. 45.
9. *Ibid,* p. 45.
10. *Ibid,* p. 45-46.
11. *Ibid,* p. 46.
12. *Ibid,* p. 68.

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Dionysius, the geographer, whom Augustus had sent to compile an account of the Oriental regions, 14 A.D., informed the people of Europe that precious garments were manufactured by the Seres, from threads finer than those of the spider which they combed from flowers.[13] This precious manufacture found its way to Rome, where it was sold at a most enormous price, so that the use of it was restricted to a few women of the greatest fortunes. What its price was on its first appearance, we are not informed; but it must have been extremely high : for even in the latter part of the third century, the Emperor Aurelian, when his wife begged of him to let her have but one single gown of purple silk, refused it, saying he could not buy it at the price of gold.

By 527 A.D. silk had come into general use among the Romans; and notwithstanding the very high price of it, it was sought after with astonishing eagerness by the inhabitants of Constantinople. The manufacture of silk goods from raw silk imported from the east, had long been carried on in the ancient Phœnician cities of Tyre and Berytus, whence the western world used to be supplied. But the enhanced prices the manufacturers were obliged to pay to the Persians, in whose hands the trade in raw silk was at that period, made it impossible for them to furnish their goods at the former prices, especially in the Roman territories, where they were subject to a duty of 10 per cent. The Emperor Justinian, however, ordered that the silk should be sold at the rate of eight pieces of gold per lb. (12 ozs. av.), on penalty of forfeiture of the whole property of the offender. This price control measure made it necessary that the trade in raw silk should be taken out of the hands of the Persians. Justinian himself endeavoured, by means of his ally the Christian Prince of Abyssinia, to wrest some portion of the silk trade from the Persians. In this attempt he failed; but he obtained, in some measure, the object he had in view, in an extraordinary and unexpected manner. Two Persian monks, inspired by their religious zeal, or curiosity, had penetrated into the country of the Seres, and lived in it long enough to make themselves masters of the whole process of silk manufacture. On their return to the westward, instead of communicating the knowledge to their own countrymen, they proceeded to Constantinople, and imparted to the Emperor the secret, hitherto so well-preserved by the Seres, that silk was produced by a species of worm, the eggs of which might be transported with safety, and propagated in his dominions. By the promise of a great reward, they were engaged to return, whence they actually brought off a quantity of the silk worms' eggs concealed in a hollow cane, and conveyed them safely to Constantinople in 552 A.D.[14] The eggs were hatched in the proper season by the warmth of a dunghill; and the worms produced from them were fed with the leaves of the mulberry-tree, spun their silk, and propagated their race, under the care of the monks, who also taught the Romans the whole mystery of the manufacture. The important insects, so happily produced, were the progenitors of all the silk worms in Europe and the western parts of Asia; and the cane-full of the eggs of an Oriental insect became the means of establishing a manufacture, which luxury and fashion rendered important, and of saving immense sums of money to Europe. These were the mulberry-eating worms, and it is, therefore, definitely established that the Seres cultivated this species of silk worm at least as early as the 5th century A.D.

By the time of the crusades, 1096 to 1186 A.D., scarfs and mantles of silk, velvet and satin were in use amongst the nobility who had embarked in these religious wars. Ebn Haukul, an Arabian traveller, stated in 947 A.D., that the countries adjacent to the Caspian Sea produced great quantities of silk, whereof that of Meru in Khorasan, was most esteemed, the eggs of the silk worms being carried from there to other places. But the seats of silk manufacture were extended to Rome and Sicily through Greece, and it was carried to Spain by the Saracens. This was by the end of twelfth century.

England at this time, *i.e.*, when India attained the zenith of silk manufacture, imported large quantities of silk but did not know how to manufacture it. The earliest account of silk manufacture in England is found in a petition from the silk women of London to the Parliament, in 1454 A.D., when they complained that "the Lombards and other foreigners seeking to deprive women of their honest employments, imported the articles made by them, instead of bringing unwrought silk, as formerly." At this period, the silk manufactures of England were confined merely to ribands, laces and other trifling articles of haberdashery which shows that silk manufacture then had just begun. The desired protection was granted, by the enactment 33rd Henry VI, Cap. 5 which provided

13. Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, II, p. 244.

14. Milburn—*Ibid*, p. 245.

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that during the five ensuing years no person whatever should import any wrought silk, twined ribands or chains, girdles, or any other articles interfering with the manufactures of the silk women, except girdles of Genoa. This Act was afterwards prolonged. In 1481 A.D., when this Act was no longer in force, such an inundation of corsets, ribands, laces, call-silk and coleyn silk poured into the country that all the English markets of such goods were thrown idle. Again protection was granted by prohibiting the import of all such goods under 22d. Edw. IV, Cap 3. but only for four years.

Bengal's silk manufacture about this time was well known to the foreigners. The Chinese traveller, Ma Huan, who visited Bengal about 1406 A.D., during the reign of Ghiasuddin Azam Shah, found silk handkerchiefs and caps embroidered with gold.[15] About the same time, two other travellers, Varthema and Barbosa, mention silk manufactures in Bengal. Barbosa observed that a kind of sash named *sirband*, made in Bengal, was much esteemed by Europeans for the head dress of ladies, and by Persians and Arab merchants for use as turbans.[16] By the 16th century, dhoties and saries of silk were manufactured in large quantities for internal consumption. Various accounts refer to saries with dyed borders and to other silks with many coloured stripes.[17] During the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, silk industry of Bengal was in a very flourishing state. There were Royal factories at Delhi and these factories sometimes employed as many as 4000 weavers of silk alone.[18]

While the Bengal industry thrived, England was frantically trying to build her own behind tariff walls. In 1504, an Act, 19 Henry VII, Cap. 21, for the advancement of smaller silk manufactures in England, prohibited the importation of any manner of silk, wrought either by itself, or with any other stuff, in ribands, laces, girdles, corsets, upon pain of forfeiture of the same. It was, on the other hand, made lawful for all persons, foreigners as well as English to import all other kinds of silk, as well wrought as raw and unwrought; by which it appears that at this time there was no broad manufacture of silk made in England.

By the first quarter of the sixteenth century, the French laid the foundation for the establishment of silk manufacture at Lyons and other places in the southern part of France. They obtained workmen from Milan and made great progress, supplying many parts of Europe with silk goods; yet it was long after this time when France acquired the method of rearing silk worms. England obtained a large number of silk artisans. The persecution of protestants in France drove a large number of silk workmen to England who had escaped the massacre of St Bartholomew in 1572. These men were kindly received in London and were protected by Queen Elizabeth. It were these men who developed the art of silk weaving in England. Silk industry continued to thrive in England under Royal patronage, although, previous to the commencement of the trade between England and the East Indies. She was dependent on Turkey for the silk consumed in her manufactures. (*To be continued*)

15. J.R.A.S. 1895, p. 532.

16. Barbosa, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Vol. II, p. 145.

17. K. M. Ashraf, *Life and Condition of the People of Hindustan* (1200-1550), J.A.S.B., 1935, p. 209.

18. Ashraf, *Ibid*, p. 206.

RIGHT TO EDUCATION

By Academician VLADIMIR POTEMKIN,
People's Commissar of Education and President of the recently organised Pedagogical Academy

The Constitution of the U.S.S.R. guarantees to Soviet citizens a right to education. A wide use of this right is made in Russia, the country with a fully literate population and the country where general compulsory education is in force. In the twenty-six years of the Soviet power, the higher schools of the country have trained an army of almost half a million teachers.

A great work has been carried out in liquidating illiteracy and raising the cultural and the technical level of the adult population. In the past twenty-six years over forty million people

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have become literate. In addition, a wide network of secondary schools for adults has grown up in the country.

The last five years preceding the war were marked by construction of schools on a wide scale; ten thousand new schools were opened in the cities and the villages of the country. A whole new branch of industry—manufacture, technical study-aids have been developed. The factories annually produce visual aids worth one hundred and fity million roubles; the total number of text-books published in the last five pre-war years amounts to 440 million copies.

Notwithstanding the war, the Soviet Government is continually improving the material conditions of the teachers. A considerable increase in salary has been given to school teachers, pedagogues in children's homes, teachers in universities and institutes, and the museum workers. In many cities special dining rooms have been opened for workers in the field of education, while the scientific research workers receive special supplementary food rations.

In the years of the war, when the country is struggling to expedite the final defeat of the Hitlerites, public education in the U.S.S.R. is continuing its uninterrupted development and approaching solution of the task of general compulsory education.

Work of lecturing has attained a wide development in Russia. In 1942 there were over five hundred scientific workers and specialists in various fields engaged in such activity.

According to rough calculations, over 25 thousand lectures were held in 1942, and over 35 thousand in 1943. The Sunday universities, organized in large cities of the country in wartime, are attended by tens of thousands of people.

The schools have greatly helped the collective-farms in the years of the war. In the summer of 1943 about four million pupils and teachers worked in collective-farm fields. The school children collected hundreds of thousands of tons of scrapmetal and medicinal herbs. Many uppergrade pupils of the Soviet Union are partaking in political and educational work among the population.

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

With still one month left of summer, the Russian campaign is now rapidly mounting to a climax. The German defence-line has now become unstable all the way from the Baltic zone down to the foothills of the Carpathians near the Polish-Czechoslovakian border. The Baltic corridor has been further constricted in Latvia and Estonia by the forward thrust of the Soviets' forces west of Dvinsk, in the course of which Schaulen has been captured. The evacuation of Kovno which has followed this thrust, now brings East Prussia within the orbit of the Russian campaign. South of this zone the Soviets' forces are now advancing along a line that will gradually tend to form a bulge, outflanking the defences of East Prussia, as it progresses beyond Bialystok towards the north-west of Warsaw. Further south the Russian forces are now fast approaching the foothills of the Carpathians where the German line will have natural barriers to reinforce their defence organization. Whether these will compensate for the loss of the great fortress cities of Przemysl and Lvov is yet to be seen.

The Russian campaign that started with an "all-out" character has not only kept up its intensity but has enlarged its scope and enhanced its tempo very fast. At no time during last year's Russian campaigns did the Soviets' forces move over such great zones of enemy defence in such mass and with such speed. The continuous evacuation of great defence centres by the Germans indicate that the defenders are not in a position to organise large-scale "hedge-hog" defences without incurring the serious risk of being outflanked and cut off by the great waves of mechanized and armoured forces of the Soviets, surging forward on widely extended fronts with immense momentum. These movements have so far been of such a character that the defenders have been denied any chance for stabilization at set points, the Soviets' advance having the tendency to bye-pass such concentration points and to

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develop into a wide enveloping movement with great masses of mechanized and armoured forces thrusting forward on the flanks. All this means that not only are the Germans outnumbered by far within these battle-zones but in addition the advancing Russian forces are employing immense concentrations of fast-moving mechanized forces, with great panzer spear-heads in front and massed self-propelled artillery in support, on a scale that has surpassed even that of the Russian campaigns of 1942 and 1943.

In short, the Soviets' campaign is fast approaching the climax. It is evident that the Russian High Command is now rapidly throwing into the battle the maximum force that can be mobilized, in an effort to obtain a decision before the autumn is over and winter clamps down restrictions on mechanized movements. Up till now the Germans have not been able to fight this forward movement to a standstill in any sector between the Baltic and Southern Polish battle-zones. But, on the other hand, the German defence has been able so far to maintain a continuous and organised front against the Russian advance, filling breaches and keeping contact by means of orderly retreats. They have so far "traded space for time." But soon that space will be very near the home-land and the shortening of the line would soon cease to make up for the heavy losses incurred in this ceaseless battering that is being delivered with increasing force by the Soviets. There is talk about the "East-wall" defences and there are the Carpathians. It remains to be seen whether they can help the Germans to stem the flood-tide of the Russian campaign which will reach its peak within a very few weeks from now.

Compared to the Russian advance the Battle for France is going very slowly indeed, but very recently there have been signs of a major assault developing in that area as well. It is too early as yet to gauge the extent of the effort but the latest reports tend to indicate that the battle for positions is climbing to a new intensity. It is time that this hold-up was terminated as summer is now two-thirds over and the peak of the Russian effort not very far off. There is no doubt that the Invasion of France has already substantially aided the Russian effort as it is hardly likely that the Soviets would have plunged into this "all-out" attempt at smashing up the Eastern defences of Germany, had they not been sure that a very large portion of the German reserves would be pinned down in the West to meet the Allied assault on France, but that is not by any means the sum-total of Allied aims in the West.

In Asia the Japanese attempt at developing decisive offensives is slowly diminishing down into minor engagements. The Chinese defenders of the Canton-Hankow railway are proving to be as tough as ever and the pace of the Japanese advance has been slowed down considerably. But the position of China is still serious and as such the intensification of the American offensive in the Pacific is very welcome. The Allies have yet a very long way to go in Asia, however, and therefore over-optimism may well be a source of danger. Japan's attempt at the staging of a major diversion in the Manipur and Naga Hills area is petering out now, no doubt, but what she did manage to do in that area should dispel all ideas that Japan is now gone into a rapid decline, and that one good push is all that is needed to overthrow Nippon for well and good.

Latterly it has been the practice to lay emphasis on the Japanese losses in men and material and on the inability of Japan to make good her losses. There is no doubt some justifiable grounds for such assumptions and the fall of the Tojo Cabinet goes a long way to strengthen the hands of optimists. But too little is being said about the other side of the picture. What is the condition of China and what are the conditions prevailing in India? We cannot help thinking that the reason behind all this flood-lighting of Japanese losses and defeats rests, at least in part, on an attempt to persuade the peoples of the United Nations that the failures and shortcomings of the Democracies in Asiatic areas would not materially affect the course of the war against Japan. We may be wrong but we cannot forget the shocks we received at the news of the Japanese thrusts in the Arakans, the Manipur and Naga Hills areas, and later on in China, after being fed for the whole of 1943 and the early part of 1944 with facts and figures showing how Japan was going downgrade at an increasing speed. The fact remains that India and China had ample resources in men, material and basic industrial resources for the destruction of Japanese aggression in Asia, if only there had been efficient organisation and augmentation along truly democratic lines. And in this complex organisation of modern total warfare failure in one sphere means greatly enhanced costs elsewhere.

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General Stilwell's Headquarters men in Chungking greet Vice-President Wallace

Three Red Cross girls serve Vice-President Wallace and his party in enlisted men's American Red Cross Club, Hqs. U.S.A.A.F., Chungking

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OLD PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS OF THE ACHAEMENIAN EMPERORS: *By Dr. Sukumar Sen, Ph.D. Calcutta University, 1941. Pp. xii + 290, 2 plates of cuneiform deciphered. Rs. 6.*

This is a *Corpus* of the ancient Persian inscriptions of the kings of the Achaemenian dynasty (from Cyrus, 559 B.C.). First comes the text in the old Persian-Aryan language as transcribed from the cuneiform alphabet to the Roman according to the system known to European scholars as normalisation; this is followed by a word for word translation into what is popularly called Vedic (rather post-Vedic) Sanskrit, an English translation and philological notes (embracing comments on grammar). From this the importance of the volume to students of Indo-Aryan comparative philology will be at once understood. The advanced student will be further helped by Dr. Sen's Old Persian Glossary (56 pages) and Outline of Old Persian Grammar (30 pages) at the end.

This is the first attempt on an exhaustive scale in this branch of Oriental study by a Sanskritist, and though the translation from old Persian into Vedic Sanskrit must often be a *tour de force*, Dr. Sen deserves high praise for his courage, persistence and accuracy. Details of his work will no doubt be criticised by specialists working in the same field and such criticism cannot be expected in a general review like this. But it can be said in support of him that the extant Vedic vocabulary is so meagre that some of his translations from Old Persian must from the nature of things be conjectural; or in other words, if the rules of grammar were strictly followed in old usage, the Sanskrit equivalents of Persian words coined by him would have been found in our old Sanskrit, as certainly as an algebraic equation is correct. Scholars, of course, know that languages do not grow within the iron bounds of logic and grammar and that every language has cases of what used to be called its *idiosyncrasy* as distinct from *idiom*. But this cannot be a disparagement of Dr. Sen's scholarship. He has presented a very sound basis for further work, for possible improvement of details and not for scrapping up altogether.

A note in the author's preface excites our curiosity: he thanks Professor Kshetresh C. Chatterji of the Allahabad University for lending him his copy of Herzfield's *Alt-persische-Inschriften* (in 1940). All the inscriptions brought to light by Herzfield are printed at the end of the volume, whereas in point of chronology they should have come first. Are we to conclude from this that the Calcutta University did not care to buy Herzfield's monumental work as soon as issued, or to make it available to its *teacher* of Avestan studies?

H. B.

THE ATLANTIC SYSTEM: *By Forrest Davis. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London. 1943. Pages 328. Price 15 shillings.*

The Atlantic System, as opposed to the Continental System, is old, rational and pragmatic, having grown organically out of strategic and political realities in congenially free climate and its roots running deep and strong into the American tradition. The co-operation of England and America at sea for the protection of the Atlantic world and the preservation of its political institutions and economic interests is the foundation of the Atlantic System. Forrest Davis, who is steeped in the writings of the great naval theorist Mahan, has written nothing less than an historical brief for the Atlantic Charter. The history is the story of Anglo-American relations during the last half-century: the quarrels and misunderstandings, the forces operating both to attract and to repel; the "broad entente" existing between these strongheaded and individualized peoples. The author repudiates the isolationist contention that America has been "dragged" into the war in defence of Britain, and observes: "Twice within this generation, after vowing neutrality it has gravitated into the support of a beleaguered Britain from motives strictly American and in defence of the Atlantic System. In neither case did its Government have any option if it wished to preserve the true security afforded by its oceans."

The author's analysis of Anglo-American relations during the last 150 years is extremely illuminating, and proves once more that the foreign policy of a country is fundamentally simple because it is always governed by national interest. This book is interpretative historical writing at its best and provides admirable insight into the labyrinths of Eur-American diplomacy during the last two centuries, with particular reference to naval politics. But some of his conclusions regarding the functioning of the New Order, assuming Allied victory and survival of the Atlantic System, will provoke sceptical questionings in certain quarters. Typical instances are the author's references to China that should be "helped to unity and strength", and to the Soviet Union which should be "encouraged and tutored by the Powers committed to political liberty and progress by evolution." This provides an interesting sidelight to the Atlantic Charter.

MANINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

SOME EMINENT BEHAR CONTEMPORARIES: *By Lt.-Col. Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha, D.Litt., M.L.A., Bar-at-Law, Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University and Editor of the "Hindusthan Review". Himalaya Publications, Patna. Pp. 4 + xxxviii + 218. Rs. 3. With a foreward by Lt.-Col. Dr. Amarnath Jha, an illuminating introduction by the author himself—giving the story of the constitution of Bihar into a separate province, and an appendix on Dyarchy Minister's Powers.*

This is a collection of pen-portraits of men hallowed in the history of modern Bihar, written in a charming style by one who himself is one of the makers of modern Bihar. Dr. Sinha's biases and sentiments are well known; but his outspokenness, as well as his appreciation of other people's merit are to be admired.

Minus the jacket, everything of this book is excellent.

M. C. SAMADDAR

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLAND: *By Dr. R. N. Dubey, M.A., D.Litt. Published by Kitab Mahal, Allahabad. Price Rs. 5.*

The book seeks to give the story of the economic progress of England to the eve of the present war, tracing the development of British agriculture, industry and commerce. As such, it has been a poor imitation of Cunningham's *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*. It appears that the author's main objective is to prove that only the English people, and nobody else in this world, has got any national character. He declares: "Germany, France, U. S. A., Japan and Russia all vied with one another to introduce as quickly as possible the economic system that England had evolved

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for herself. The race is not yet over, even Asiatic ward countries like India and China are joining it." Then he says: "There is no other country in the world where, in normal times, the public opinion is so unfettered as in England. In other countries vested interests try to corrupt public opinion by bribes or intimidation of one sort or the other. In England such an attempt is found to be greatly resented by the public. The strength of the Englishman lies in his character. The result is that the English economic system that has been reproduced in other countries of the world differs from the original in essential features." Then again he says: "The key to the English economic development lies in the English character. It is true that the factor that brought this character into play was the developing commerce. But the other nations of Europe, the Dutch, the French, the Spaniards or the Portuguese had also similar opportunities of developing commerce. None but the English succeeded."

The author deserves congratulation for his daring statement that the keynote for the development of capitalism was character which only the English, and nobody else, had. Here he has treaded on grounds not his own. The main reasons for the development of English commerce were, amongst others, the crushing of the Spanish and Dutch Navies, the acquisition of vast colonial empires, adoption of a policy of protection whenever it was needed for the development of any of her industries and the exploitation of Africa and Asia, backed whenever necessary by force. With the growth of U. S. A., Germany and Japan as great rival industrial countries, she had begun to contract her market within her Empire. In this respect, specially with reference to India, the English industrial policy pursued a course which at any rate, did not evoke much respect for English character. Industrialisation of England was prompted by the acute need for her livelihood and she was clever enough to develop her trade and industry through diplomacy and force. Character might have some relation with this development, but it was certainly not the keynote. Her rivals were not altogether devoid of it.

D. Burman

KASTURBA GANDHI: *By Miss Dhan Chandra. —Free India Publications, The Mall, Lahore. Pages 44, Price annas twelve.*

This small life-sketch of Kasturba Gandhi has been written by a young girl fresh from school. Kasturba as wife and disciple of the greatest man of India is adored by all and her life of sacrifice will remain ever an ideal to emulate by the womanhood of India. This little book has been written in simple and chaste language which even a school boy will read and understand without any difficulty.

The book is recommended for the young and it is also suitable as a prize book.

A. B. Dutta

SANSKRIT-HINDI

ATHARVAVEDIYA CIKITSASASTRA: *By Priyaratna Arsha, Vedic Research Scholar, Vedanusandhan Sadan, Jualapur Road, Hardwar. Published by Sarvadesik Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Delhi. Royal octavo, 14 + 287 + 12. Price Rs. 2.*

This is an interesting book which seeks to give a new interpretation to a selected number of hymns of the Atharvaveda. According to the learned author, the hymns are not incantations or magical formula as is generally supposed, but refer to different aspects of Ayurveda or medical science. He is of opinion that the hymns really deal with topics belonging to one or other of the sections of Ayurveda, e.g., *sutrasthana, sarirasthana, nidanasthana* and *cikitsasthana*. Under each section he gives the interpretation of a number of hymns so that we have a vivid picture of Ayurveda on the basis of the hymns of the Atharvaveda. As examples of his interpretations reference may be made to a few words occurring in *Atharva* v. 22 (p. 272-3 of the book under review). *Dasi* and *Sudra* are here names of herbs while *Bahlik* is a covered place and *Mujbat* is a place covered with *munja* grass. In the first two cases authorities are cited in support of the interpretation, but nothing is said to substantiate the explanation of the remaining two words as of many more throughout the work. Reference is seldom made to traditional meanings and there is no glossary of words for which new senses are suggested. In spite of these defects, the book reflects the ingenuity and diligence of the learned writer and may be commended to the notice of specialists in Veda and Ayurveda for thorough study and proper evaluation.

Chintaharan Chakravarti

HINDI

BIHAR-VIBHAKAR: *By Tarkeshwar Prasad Varma. Published by Pustak Bhandar, Laheriasarai and Patna. Price Rs. 4.*

Bihar can vie in the glory of her past with any other part of ancient India. Her contribution to the new era of renaissance and national awakening in modern India is also by no means mean or insignificant. This 445-page volume, under review, contains biographical sketches of some notable personalities of Bihar, who have made valuable contributions, in their own way, in different fields of life and activities of the Province. The publication can well serve the purpose of a handy reference-book.

M. S. Sengar

TELUGU

YUVAJANODYAMAMU: *By K. V. Ramakrishna, Advocate, Anantpur. Pp. 32. Price annas two.*

It is a small, orderly pamphlet dealing with "Youth Movement". The author, who is of Communistic leaning, seems to have a fairly good grasp of youth organisations functioning all over the world; and as such his comparative study of them bears the label of earnest research. His suggestions with regard to national reconstruction sound quite feasible. They will surely attract a good deal of attention.

A. K. Row

GUJARATI

KABARAJI SMARAK ANK: *Edited by K. C. Desai and Miss Jer Kabaraji. Published by the Streebodha Karyalaya, Ahmedabad. Thick Cardboard. Pp. 312, Illustrated.*

Streebudh, a monthly journal started eighty-seven years ago, by the late Mr. K. N. Kabaraji and after his death continued by his son's wife, the late Mrs. Putalibai Jehangir Kabraji, has been consistently devoting itself to the cause of the uplift of Indian womanhood—Hindu, Muslim, Parsi, Christian. This Memorial Issue (of May 1943) contains numerous contributions on the subject dear to the hearts of the late Editors, describing their activities. A short introduction by Mr. K. C. Desai describes realistically the state of the women of Gujarat at the time when the Kabrajis worked and a short memorandum by Lady Nilkanth gives a sketch of Mrs. Putalibai's life.

K. M. J.

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FREUD'S THEORY OF RELIGION

By Professor PARESNATH BHATTACHARYYA, M.A.

Freud is generally recognised as the founder of psychoanalysis merely. But the far-reaching consequences deduced by Freud from psychoanalysis are hardly recognized. Psychoanalysis can no longer be narrowed down to one of the branches of applied psychology. In the vindication of its claims it has gradually evolved an enormous structure of theoretical psychology. No present treatise on psychology can afford to ignore the contributions of psychoanalysis to the solution of many a vexed problem of mental life. The matter has been admirably discussed in a symposium opened by Dr. S. C. Mitra and participated by many eminent psychologists (*Contributions of Abnormal Psychology to Normal Psychology*.

The later phases of the development of Freud's psychoanalytical theory synchronise with an increasingly extensive application of psychoanalysis to cultural subjects. He applied the method of psychoanalysis in the interpretation of art and literature, folklore, myths, legends and fairy-tales. He did not exclude sociology, ethics, religion and even philosophy from the domain of psychoanalysis. All these cultural manifestations are attributed to the same mechanism of the human mind as underlies the varied forms of mental disorders. Freud says, "In one way the neuroses show a striking and far-reaching correspondence with the great social productions of art, religion and philosophy, while again they seem like distortions of them." (*Totem and Taboo*). All arise from the same intrapsychical conflict of opposite desires leading to repression which forms the basis of the unconscious—the storehouse of man's phylogenetic and ontogenetic past. There goes on a ceaseless conflict between the repressing and the repressed forces making it impossible for the unconscious to burst upon the conscious except in an indirect and disguised manner. The distortion of the unconscious desire sometimes goes to the extent of making it unrecognisable and its intrinsic nature can be laid bare only through psychoanalysis. The motivation behind the process of distortion is to escape the censure of the conscious, to facilitate the indirect fulfilment of a wish which cannot be directly satisfied.

The devices adopted for this motive are sublimation, replacement and reaction :

"Sublimation is the diversion of the trends of a complex into useful, social, moral and ethical directions. The maternal complex may be diverted into attendance at a creche, interest in societies for infant welfare, or taking up the nursing or teaching profession." (Stoddart : *Mind and its Disorders*)

Replacement differs from sublimation in that it does not subserve, like the latter, any useful function. For example, repressed maternal instinct may be displaced in an interest in dolls. Reaction formations are those devices in which the conscious activities are the very contrary of the unconscious desires. For example, persons who have repressed a desire to steal may be scrupulously honest.

In normal life the repressed desires or complexes are kept down by the conscious and are expressed through the abovementioned mechanisms. Should a complex fail to express itself in any of the above ways, it manifests itself as a neurotic or psychotic symptom, such as (1) somatic manifestation in the form of motor and sensory disturbance, *i.e.*, Conversion Hysteria, (2) transference of the affect belonging to the complex to some related but less repugnant conscious idea, *i.e.*, substitution as in Compulsion Neurosis and (3) the ascription of the complex unacknowledged by the patient to other people, or projection as in Paranoia (Stoddart : *Mind and its Disorders*). Ethics, religion, art and philosophy are the manifestations of repressed complexes through one or other of these psychotic and neurotic symptoms. In Freud's language,

"We may say that hysteria is a caricature of an artistic creation, a compulsion neurosis a caricature of religion and paranoiac delusion a caricature of a philosophic system." (*Totem and Taboo*)

Freud did not develop any systematic doctrine of religion. He suggested a theory as early as 1912 in his *Totem and Taboo*. This fundamental position was adhered to and developed in his subsequent writings, mainly in *The Future of an Illusion, Civilization and its Discontents, Moses and Monotheism*, and incidentally in many other works like *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life, The Ego and the Id, New Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis, Leonardo Da Vinci* and numerous papers on psychoanalysis. An exhaustive survey of Freud's attitude towards religion is too ambitious a programme for this paper. We shall content ourselves with attempting here a general outline of Freud's views on religion

* A word of caution should be interposed. Freud is concerned with the psychological aspect of religion—with the determination of the psychic mechanism behind religious manifestations. The question as to whether religion represents any truth or not in any metaphysical sense, is outside Freud's province.

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depending mainly upon deductions made on the basis of what Freud left as the brief statement of premises. From the manner how Freud proceeded step by step beginning with his earliest remarks on religion in *Totem and Taboo* to the latest position advanced in his last work, *Moses and Monotheism*, it appears that Freud might have the intention to work up a whole system of religious theory which could not be materialised for some reason or other.

Freud traces the genesis of religion to man's ontogenetic and phylogenetic past. It is associated with the Oedipus wish which constitutes the strongest among the repressed contents of the unconscious. The desire to kill the parent of the same sex and possess the parent of the opposite sex forms the most inveterate desire of man's early childhood. "The beginning of religion, ethics, society and art meet in the Oedipus complex" (*Totem and Taboo*). Freud seeks to establish the Oedipus complex by availing himself of the story of Oedipus as depicted by Sophocles and more effectively as a historically established fact by appropriating the Darwinian conception of the primal horde. A violent and jealous father drives away the growing sons and keeps all the females for himself. The expelled brothers one day unite and put an end to the father. Considering this as an inadequate basis for totemism, Freud adds, "One day the expelled brothers joined forces, slew and ate the father, and thus put an end to the father horde" (*ibid*). So, totemism, the first religio-social institution of mankind, is based upon the gratification of the repressed Oedipus wish. The son's wish for father-identification could be satisfied only by murder and the subsequent assimilation of the father's being with that of the son through cannibalism. The band of brothers, Freud continues, not only hated their father, but loved and admired him too. So "after they had satisfied their hate by his removal and carried out their wish for identification with him the suppressed tender impulses had to assert themselves" (*ibid*). The conflict between love and hate constitutes the ambivalence of all Oedipus desires and this ambivalence, according to Freud, lies "at the root of important cultural formations." The brothers tabooed the murder of their father-substitute and denied themselves the liberated women. "Thus they created the two fundamental taboos of totemism," *viz.*, patricide and incest. The antagonism of the ambivalent components of the Oedipus complex, *viz.*, love and hate, gives rise to the sense of guilt. "Totem religion issued from the sense of guilt of the sons as an attempt to palliate this feeling and to conciliate the injured father through subsequent obedience" (*ibid*).

Freud regards totemism as the prototype of all religion. All the advanced types of religion repeat the same story of totemism merely in different forms of language. For example, the sense of guilt found in its unsophisticated form in totemism is theorized into the "Doctrine of Original Sin" in Christianity. "The unmentionable crime was replaced by the tenet of the somewhat shadowy conception of Original Sin" (*Moses and Monotheism*). But this sense of guilt may not be acknowledged.

"The Jews do not admit that they killed God whereas the Christians do. Through this they have shouldered a tragic guilt. They have been made to suffer dearly for it." (*Ibid*)

So, according to Freud, men suffer the pangs of remorse for the sin of patricide committed by their ancestors. For the expiation of this crime men replace their father by God or some religious ideal and address all their prayers and solicitations to him. The parent who was hated and killed is now idolised, worshipped and adorned. The sense of guilt seeks revenge through the sufferings inflicted upon the ego by the punishing conscience in the form of penance, self-mortification, rituals and other formalities of a painful type. God is nothing but a surrogate of the father or a father-substitute. "God is nothing but an exalted father" (*Totem and Taboo*). "The situation created by the removal of the father contained an element which brought about an extraordinary increase of longing for the father. So the deification of the murdered father is an expiation" (*ibid*). Freud's view of God as the father-substitute can be substantiated by quotations from his other writings too. The "derivation of a need for religion...from the longing.....for a father seems to me incontrovertible." (*Civilisation and its Discontents*). In *The Future of an Illusion* also Freud regards the "primal father" as the prototype of God. "Men's helplessness remains and with it their father-longing and the Gods" (*The Future of an Illusion*). "Longing for a father contains the germ of all religious" (*The Ego and the Id*). The spirit expressed in *Totem and Taboo, The Ego and the Id* and *Moses and Monotheism* differs from that maintained in *The Future of an Illusion* and *Civilisation and its Discontents* in that the emphasis of the former upon the father complex is transferred in the latter to the feeling of helplessness. He says

"The connecting link between the father complex and man's helplessness is not difficult to find." (*The Future of an Illusion*)

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So the "derivation of the need for religion from the child's feeling of helplessness" (*Civilization and its Discontents*) becomes well-grounded and a short step is needed to arrive at the conclusion :

"The whole thing is so patently infantile, so incongruous with reality, that to one whose attitude to humanity is friendly it is painful to think that the great majority of mortals will never be able to rise above this view of life." (*Ibid*)

So religion is a regression to childhood—the abnormal manifestation of the repressed long-forgotten and unconscious Oedipus wish. Of course, the Oedipus wish need not pertain exclusively to the individual but also to his racial inheritance. This infantile regression accounts for the characteristic attitude of religion comprising the feelings of admiration, awe and gratitude.

"The first effect of the reunion with what men had long missed and yearned for was overwhelming. There was admiration, awe and gratitude." (*Moses and Monotheism*)

Freud continues :

"Infantile feelings are more intense and inexhaustibly deep than are those of adults; only religious ecstasy can bring back that intensity. Thus a transport of devotion to God is the first response to the return of the Gleat Father." (*Ibid*)

This is how Freud reduces religion to an infantile attitude and man's relation to God to the child-father relationship in every detail. But why this regression ? This return to childhood ? Freud says that life is too hard to bear and we cannot do without palliative remedies. Man suffers defeat at the ruthless hands of reality. So he retreats and takes shelter in some fortress of his childhood left behind in the onward march of life. The buffets and misfortunes of the present drive him back to the past of his forgotten childhood which he has not been able to outgrow on account of fixation. This fixated past serves as a substitute gratification of the ungratified desire due to the impact of reality. Religion, thus, becomes the resource of the coward, the misfit in life who has admitted defeat. It is a *res peurilis*, a childish affair due to the stunning of growth caused by the failure to attain maturity. Freud says :

"Even the grown man is just as helpless and unprotected as he was in childhood and in relation to the external world he is still a child. Even now, therefore, he cannot give up the protection which he has enjoyed as a child." (*New Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis*)

But why this return to the father-child relationship ? Does not the religious man know that his father is as weak as himself ? Does he not know that the protection sought from the father cannot be given by him who himself seeks protection ? Freud, in anticipation of this possible objection, says, "Though his real father might be weak, the over-rated father image of his childhood is exalted into a Deity" (*ibid*).

Religion is an illusion just because it is a regression to childhood. The religious ideas are "fulfilments of the oldest, strongest and the most insistent wishes of mankind; the secret of their strength is the strength of these wishes" (*Future of an Illusion*). The estimation of the value of religion as a truth is not Freud's enquiry. Psychologically considered religion is an illusion—that is enough for his purpose. It is a mockery, an illusion as deceptive as will-'o-the-wisp—it defeats itself.

"Religion is an attempt to get control over the sensory world, in which we are placed, by means of the wish world, which we have developed inside us as a result of biological and psychological necessities. But it cannot achieve its end. Its doctrines carry with them the stamp of the times in which they originate, the ignorant childhood days of the human race. Its consolations deserve no trust." (*New Intrdouctory Lectures on Psychoanalysis*)

Religion is comparable to compulsion neurosis and its accompanying projection.

"As a matter of fact, I believe that a large portion of the psychological conception of the world which reaches far into the most modern religions is nothing but psychology projected into the outer-world." (*Psychopathology of Everyday Life*)

It is obvious that Freud does not distinguish religion from superstition and magic.

"To it, as to magic", says Dalbiez, "he applies the projection interpretation". (Dalbiez: *Psychoanalytical Method and the Doctrine of Freud, Vol. I*)

It follows that Freud understands religious phenomena "only on the model of the neurotic symptoms of the individual, as a return of long-forgotten important happenings in the primeval history of the human family. They owe their obsessive character to that very origin and therefore derive their effect on mankind from the historical truth they contain" (*Moses and Monotheism*). Again, the neurotic form of religion is exposed in the most extreme manner in the following :

"It is said, that each one of us behaves in some respect like the paranoiac substituting a wish fulfilment for some aspect of the world which is unbearable to him and carrying this delusion through into reality. The religion of humanity must be classified as a mass delusion." (*Civilization and its Discontents*)

Religion is a device adopted for the achievement of happiness. It is a defence mechanism for guarding ourselves against pain. When happiness cannot be achieved for the frustra-

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tions and privations imposed by reality, the help of God is implored and when we have to forget the pains resulting therefrom, God becomes the solace and consolation of our troubled mind. But this dependence upon God turns out fruitless.

"Its method consists in decrying the value of life and promulgating a view of the real world that is distorted like a delusion and both of these imply a preliminary intimidating influence upon intelligence. At such a cost by the forcible imposition of mental infantilism and inducing a mass delusion—religion succeeds in saving many people from individual neuroses." (*Ibid*)

But religion cannot keep her promise of achieving happiness. Unconditional submission to 'God's inscrutable decree' becomes the last-remaining consolation and source of happiness. In what then, does religion culminate ? It intimidates the intelligence, arrests its normal growth by the imposition of mental infantilism for consolation. But this consolation even it cannot give. What do we gain by this sacrifice ? —simply nothing except unmitigated retrogression. Freud concludes, "and if man is willing to come to this, he could probably have arrived here by a shorter road" (*ibid*).

The view that religion is a mass delusion, a universal neurosis of humanity is also expressed in the *Future of an Illusion*. "Thus religion would be the universal obsessional neurosis of humanity." In explaining the emergence of the conception of one Great God, Freud says :

"It has an obsessive quality; it simply must be believed. As far as its delusion goes, it is a delusion; in so far as it brings to light something from the past it must be called a truth." (*Moses and Monotheism*)

This view is worked out by drawing the close parallels in the development of the neurosis and the evolution of the Jewish doctrine of Monotheism. Freud finds in the evolutionary process of the Jewish religion an analogy to the genesis of neurosis in two points, *viz.*, (1) both the genesis of neurosis and religion go back to very early impressions of childhood and (2) there are cases which we single out as "traumatic" ones. (The impression we experienced at an early age and forgot later are called traumata). Freud also reminds us that the three points, *viz.*, early happening within the first five years of life, the forgetting, the characteristic of sexuality and aggressivity belong closely together. In this way Freud proceeds to develop the parallels in the formation of neurotic symptoms and the manifestation of religious phenomena.

The consequence which follows from levelling down religion to neurosis is that the origin of religion becomes no less sexsual than the neurotic and psychotic symptoms. Repressed sexuality attaching to the Oedipus wish is the determining factor of religion. The attitude towards God is a substitute for the repressed attitude towards the parents, so that one's religious attitude can be predicted from an analysis of the parental attitude. The feeling of the sublime or the vast or what Freud describes as the 'oceanic' feeling of the religious man can be fully explained as the feeling of oneness with the love-object—for love obliterates the distinction between the lover and the loved and produces a vague feeling of oneness or vastness. Moreover, that God is the father-substitute is also established on the ground that all of the major religions worship God as the Father. The worship of God as the Mother is a variant of the triangular nature of the Oedipus situation. This point is explained in *The Ego and the Id*.

The chief lesson inculcated by psychoanalysis is "education to reality." Man is retarded when he relies on religious delusions. He must be enlightened and convinced that the objects of religion are projections of his own mind and not realities. The antidote against his delusion is science, for "Science is no illusion," whereas religion is nescience, an illusion. The psychoanalyst takes upon himself the task of re-educating humanity by disillusionising them. He must undo the misdeeds done throughout the generations. Freud makes these interrogative and persuasive appeals :

"Why should not man be able to do without the consolation of the religious illusion ? Is it not the destiny of childhood to be overcome? Man cannot remain a child for ever ; he must venture at last into the hostile world. This may be called 'education to reality'." (*The Future of an Illusion*)

Freud suggests a revision of the whole system of education which is mainly based upon the retardation of sexsual development and the early application of religious influence. But religious training stuns intellectual growth.

"When the child's mind awakens, the doctrines of religion are already unassailable." (*Ibid*)

But it is not at all conducive to the strengthening of the mental function that so important a sphere should be closed to the child's mind by the menace of hell pains. The result is the enfeebling of mentality and incapacitating it from detecting the absurd contradictions besetting religious doctrines. Freud's final conclusion is :

"So long as a man's early years are influenced by the religious thought-inhibition and by the loyal one derived from it, as well as by the sexual one, one cannot really say what he is actually like." (*Ibid*)

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Surendranath Banerjee
1848-1925

Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha writes in *The Hindustan Review* :

For over fifty years Surendranath's supremacy as the most eloquent Indian orator, in English, remained unchallenged. Though some other athletes with more sinewy arms rudely wrested from him, towards the close of his life, the leadership in political assemblages, and tried to belittle his remarkable services to the country, posing as more skilful pilots, he held till the end of his great career the proud position of being the foremost orator in the country. In the earlier days "clouds of incense rose about him from the prodigal superstition of innumerable admirers." His implacable energy, the heroic strength of ideas, a Spartan sense of duty, the extraordinary compass of his mind, amazing vivacity, and variety of appropriate gesture, "the vibrating voice now rising to an organ peal of triumph, now sinking to a whisper of entreaty", swayed vast masses of his fellow-countrymen, thrilling their imagination and holding it spell-bound.

It has been said by a great authority that neither purple patches, nor epigrams, nor aphorisms, nor overwrought rhetorical imageries, are the test of oratory.

There must be dignity, elevation, lucid exposition of complicated facts, sustained and fiery declamations, impassioned apostrophes, the power to touch the emotions—making the hearers laugh and weep as occasion may demand—while there must also be rallying battle-cries and the thunderbolt of invective, and not merely meek-spirited, dull, prosy sermons. Let me quote Surendranath's own remarks on the subject.—"The qualifications of an orator are moral rather than intellectual. It is the emotions that inspire the noblest thoughts and invest them with their colour and their distinctive character. Let no one aspire to be an orator who does not love his country, love her indeed with a true and soul-absorbing love. Country first, all other things next, is the creed of the orator. Unless he has been indoctrinated in it, baptized with the holy fire of the love of country, the highest intellectual gifts will not qualify him to be an orator. Aided by them, he may indeed be a fluent debater, an expert in the presentment of his case, a fascinating speaker, able to please, amuse and even to instruct; but without the higher patriotic or religious emotions he will not possess the supreme power of moving men, inspiring them with lofty ideals and passion for the worship of the good, the true, and the beautiful. The equipment of the orator is thus moral, and nothing will help him so much as constant association with the master-minds of humanity, of those who have worked and suffered; who have taught and preached great things, who have lived dedicated lives—consecrated to the service of their country or their God." No one could have put it better.

There is a good deal of truth in the saying that an orator is born and not made.

Nevertheless study and preparation go a long way, and Surendranath's own record and the method pursued by him systematically, confirm the soundness of this view.

There can be no doubt that almost all Surendranath's greatest orations were set speeches—very carefully prepared, written out word for word, committed to memory, and then faultlessly produced, making the audience marvel as much at his oratorical powers as his mnemonic feat. Even Gokhale—who never aspired to be an orator, but was content to be regarded as the most skilful debator of his time—had acquired mastery, and his great hold on the public mind, by adopting the same method as Surendranath.

Negro Literature

The Negro creative imagination has encompassed all literary forms. V. M. Inamdar observes in *The Aryan Path* :

It is an interesting item of history that the first Negro poet should have been writing even when slaves were still being imported and that the second Negro poet should have been a lady. Jupiter Hammon, a Long Island slave who published his poem in 1760, was the first Negro poet, and Phyllis Wheatley (1753-1784) the second. Both were greatly influenced by the religious movements of their time. Hammon died in 1800 and twenty-nine years later appeared *The Hope of Liberty* by George Horton, who was the first slave poet openly to protest against his status and treatment. From 1840 up to the Civil War anti-slavery propaganda was at its height and the Negro poets used poetry more or less as a vehicle for propaganda. A number of poets sprang to fame, the prominent among whom are Daniel Payne, Charles L. Reason, George B. Vashon, Elymas Payson Rogers, E. W. Harper, James Bell and James Whitfield. In their protest against slavery they wrote with genuine passion though in their anxiety to refute the accusation of intrinsic difference and inferiority they followed their American and English models rather too closely. Yet with scorn and denunciation they demanded democracy.

Negro poetry of the Reconstruction Period and of the closing years of the last century shows interesting developments.

The poet was confronted with the false picture of his people presented by his white fellow poets, whose creations were more or less analogues of the contemporary "stage Irishmen" of the English writers about Ireland and the "Babus" of the Anglo-Indian literary tradition. In order to undo this literary mischief the Negro poets followed a twofold course : (1) They denied the stereotype by creating its antithesis and (2) they deepened the delineation of the

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Negro character by a detailed, careful and sympathetic portrayal. Albery Whitman and Paul Laurence Dunbar represent these two tendencies. While the former in his *Not a Man and Yet a Man* swung the pendulum to the opposite extreme the latter substituted for he pathetic and comic posters intimate and sympathetic portrayals. Dunbar's is a great name in the Negro poetic tradition, not merely for his close insight into Negro life but for his dialect pastoral poetry which earned for him the recognition that he was the first Negro poet "to feel the Negro life aesthetically and express it lyrically". Dunbar had many imitators and his subtle protest against the unjust treatment of his race gradually deepened into bitterness in poets who followed, particularly after the wide-spread disenfranchisement and the increasing violence the Negroes met with during the first decades of this century. W. E. B. DuBois, though not primarily a poet, expresses his burning hatred of racial injustice in such well-known pieces as "A Litany at Atlanta."

The Negro achievement in the field of the novel is not less remarkable.

The same general features of motive and the same variations of tone and tendency are observable here also. William Wells Brown's *Clotel* published in 1853 was the first Negro novel. It was franker than *Uncle Tom's Cabin* on the subject of miscegenation in the South. It was followed six years later by Delany's *Blake or The Huts of America.* But it was not till 1892, when Frances Harper's *Iola Leroy or Shadows Uplifted* was published, that the Negro novel started on its triumphant career. The complications due to miscegenation and the suffering which it meant to the victims form the central theme in a very large number of novels which followed until Charles Chesnutt opened the field of social analysis and criticism in such of his best known novels as *The Marrow of Tradition* (1901) and *The Colonel's Dream* (1906). Chesnutt's insight into social realities and his capacity to combine criticism with an interesting narrative were equalled by W. E. B. DuBois, whose trenchant discussion of the many political, economic and educational problems of the South won immediate recognition for his novels like *The Quest of the Silver Fleece* (1911) and *The Dark Princess* (1928). DuBois is an unsparing critic and his mordant attacks are levelled impartially against the American treatment of the Negroes and the Negroes' own weaknesses. James Weldon Johnson's *Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man* (1912) heralded the portrayal of Southern rural life just as Walter White's *Fire in the Flint* is symptomatic of a type of novel that could do without lynching as a dominant feature. Yet the latter depicted ambitious and successful lives leading gradually and indirecty towards a more sympathetic delineation of the Negro middle classes. Miss Fauset's *Comedy, American Style* (1933) is a tragic story of colour prejudice. Nella Larcen's *Passing* pictures upper-class Negroes while Rudolph Fisher's *The Walls of Jericho,* a pioneer social comedy, provides an intimate, intelligent, but satirical account f Harlem. *The Conjure Man Dies* (1932) is the first Negro detective novel. Langston Hughes's *Not Without Laughter* is only less remarkable than Richard Wright's *Native Son* (1940). Both, most discussed Negro novels, are specimens of social realism. The story of the frustration of the human personality under the pressure of a cramping social environment is here told with great power.

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The American Character

Many Europeans have tried to describe and appraise the American character, and the composite portrait that emerges deserves thoughtful consideration. Arthur M. Schlesinger writes in *The Indian Review* :

An American is the product of the interplay of his Old World heritage and New World conditions.

The Old World heritage consists merely of that part of European culture which was shared by the people who settled in America. They and their ancestors were artisans, small tradesmen, farmers, day-labourers—the firm foundation upon which rested the superstructure of European cultivation. Shut out from a life of wealth, leisure, and aesthetic enjoyment, they tended to regard the ways of their social superiors with misgiving, if not resentment, and, by the same token, they magnified virtues of sobriety, diligence, and thrift.

The act of quitting a familiar life for a strange and perilous one demanded uncommon qualities of hardihood, self-reliance, and imagination.

The conditions thus offered by an undeveloped continent fixed the frame within which the American character took form. Farming was the primary occupation. At first resorted to by the settlers to keep from starvation, it quickly became the mainstay of their existence. This apprenticeship to the soil made an indelible impression on the developing American character, with the following results:

First and foremost is the habit of work. For the colonial farmer, ceaseless exertion was the price of survival. Probably no legacy has entered more deeply into the national psychology. If an American has no purposeful work on hand, the fever in his blood impels him nevertheless to some form of visible activity. As one traveller put it : "America is the only country in the world where one is ashamed of having nothing to do."

This worship of work made it difficult for the early Americans to learn to play and left them indifferent to aesthetic considerations.

On the other hand, the complicated nature of the farmer's job, especially during the first two and a half centuries of American history, provided an unexcelled training in mechanical ingenuity.

The early American farmer's success in coping with his multitudinous tasks aroused a pride of accomplishment that made him scorn the specialist or expert.

He was content to do many things well enough rather than anything supremely well. This was a marked contrast to the European custom of following permanent occupations which often descended from father to son. This versatility became an outstanding American attribute.

Foreign commentators have found it difficult to reconcile worship of the Almighty Dollar with the equally universal tendency to spend freely and give money away. The fact is that for a people who recall how poor their ancestors were, the chance to make money is like sunlight at the end of a tunnel. It is the means of living a life of human dignity: a symbol of idealism rather than materialism. Hence the American has had an instinctive sympathy for the underdog, and even persons of moderate wealth have gratefully shared it with the less fortunate, helping to endow charities, schools, hospitals, and art galleries.

The American character, as we at present know it, is thus a mixture of long-persistent traits and newly acquired characteristics.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

East and West—"The Twain Shall Meet"

In an article under the above caption in *The Month*, H. Van Straelen appeals to the Western youth for a better understanding of the Far East:

Not the least among the many changes that are taking place to-day is the fact that the Far East has come nearer to us than ever before in history. Everywhere we meet with a lively interest in things oriental. In the United States all kinds of educators recognize that vital need for information about the peoples and countries of Asia. Educational agencies are concerning themselves with the problem, working out various programmes suited to the needs of special groups, ranging from highly trained specialists who will go to the Far East immediately the war is over to school-children whose education will no longer be considered up-to-date, if they have not been given a peep into the culture and history of peoples of the East. In so far as the United States are concerned, an intensive study of a large group of adults, especially in the armed forces and Government bureaus—this being a more immediate need—started with the pace we expect from the New World.

When the white man in the early years of the century burst upon the Chinese with all the evidences of invincible Western civilization—moving pictures, chewing gum, telephones, jazz, fox-trots, Scotch whisky, machine guns, golf clubs, cars, cocktails, and other fascinating gadgets—he easily awed the modest orientals by his superiority, his wealth and his prodigious brain. The white master slapped the cook for serving underdone breakfast bacon and delivered a kick to accelerate his ricksha coolie's speed. Glorified, the white man swaggered through China, confident of his supremacy. But to-day the story is different. China sees now in the civilization of the West not so very much that would benefit her teeming millions. The Chinese have learned more than ever to appreciate themselves and their own culture. They have at last justified their suspicions that the civilization of the West is not all that it is reputed to be. Maybe they observe Western amenities in intercourse with foreigners. Now and then they can be impressively accommodating, especially in words, but that is the end of the matter, because beneath their tough racial epidermis they retain their oriental character and outlook more than ever intact.

But it is not only China that can give a lot to the West. When this war is over, and the curtain falls

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I appeal therefore to the youth of the world for a better understanding of the Far East. They will throw overboard all haughtiness and racial pride and hold aloft the principle of the absolute equality of human nature before its Creator. Then the wide eyes of the idealistic Western youth will look with deep understanding into the slanting eyes of his yellow brother.

Then indeed will "the twain" have met.

Assam

From the paper on "Assam," read by Sir Robert Reid, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Governor of Assam (1937-1942) and published in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* we reproduce below that portion only which deals with the physical aspects of the province, called the North-East Frontier of India :

The province of Assam covers an area of 67,000 square miles and has a population of 11 millions—a popualtion which is just about the same as that of Canada with its area of 3,700,000 square miles. The province falls into two main divisions, the hills and the plains. The plains consist of the basins of two rivers, the Brahmaputra and the Surma, and it is in them that the bulk of Assam's inhabitants are to be found, for out of her 11 millions, some 9½ millions are in the plains and only 1½ millions in the hills.

The Assam Valley averages a width of about 50 miles, and is a fertile tract which has been reclaimed from jungle and brought under cultivation at a steadily growing rate during the last hundred years. The process is still going on, and the indigenous Assamese tribes who originally populated the area have been largely reinforced, not to say overrun, by a

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stream of vigorous Mohammedan immigrants from Mymensingh in Bengal. This gives satisfaction to the Moslem, but not the Hindu, community, for the more Mohammedans you have in Assam, the stronger the case for Pakistan. On general grounds, however, these immigrants deserve to be welcomed, for they are good cultivators.

The Surma Valley, which contains two districts, Cachar and Sylhet, has its natural affinities with Bengal; and the rivalry between the two valleys is intense, pervading every aspect of political life.

Tea is grown in large quantities in both valleys, and it may interest you to have a few facts about that great industry. Of the 841,000 acres under tea in India, 440,000 are in Assam, and of the 500,000,000 lbs. of tea that were produced in 1941, 289,000,000 lbs. were produced in Assam. A daily average of 540,000 labourers were employed in this industry in the same year, and it can be reckoned that at least twice that number in addition were dependent on it.

Assam's second great industry, oil, takes its origin from 1888, when the first well was sunk at Digboi, in the north-east corner of the province, by the Assam Railways and Trading Company. From 1921 onwards there was a great expansion in production which, in 1931, was ten times what it was in 1921.

Coal is mined in the proper sense of the term, as opposed to the surface working carried on in the Khasi Hills, at Margherita in Lakhimpur district and at Borjan on the edge of the Naga Hills. The name Margherita, by the way, that of the then Queen of Italy, points to the fact that the leading spirits in this enterprise were Italians.

Communications on this, our present land frontier with Japan, are of particular interest just now and are worth looking at for a moment. Compared with the North-West Frontier, where millions of pounds have been spent on strategic roads, railways and aerodromes, the North-East Frontier was poorly equipped as a base for military operations. There was a single-line narrow-gauge railway running throughout the province, with one serious bottle-neck, the unbridged Brahmaputra river, at its western end near Gauhati. The road system was a good one for peace-time purposes, but quite inadequate for heavy and continuous military traffic. Aerodromes there were none. On the great rivers was a good system of river steamers and flats, which have done magnificent service, albeit much of their craft had been carried off before the outbreak of war with Japan to other theatres of war.

There was only one road leading towards Burma, the Manipur road, 134 miles in length from railhead at Dimapur to the capital of Manipur State, Imphal. It was a metalled road, not surfaced, and wide enough only for one-way traffic. In December, 1941, the Civil Government of Assam were asked if they could turn their Public Works Department engineers on to drive it through to Tammu on the Burma frontier. I should explain that beyond Imphal to Tammu was a distance of about 60 miles of very hilly forest-clad country, along half of which was a fair-weather earth road only fit for very light traffic and along the other half a 6-foot bridle path fit for pack transport only. It was a stupendous task to attempt to drive a road through with half the working season gone, but the Assam engineers threw themselves into it and made good progress until the Military Engineers took it over. By May, 1942, the road was through, just in time to allow the retreating Burma Army to pass down it. Not only was it through to Tammu, but the work of widening the original road throughout was also undertaken, so that now it carried four lines of fast and heavy traffic. The successful accomplishment of this work is largely due to the ungrudging and efficient service rendered by the great Tea Industry in providing the labour force.

Not only did the Burma Army pass down this road, but also the bulk of the Indian refugees from Burma, a continuous stream of whom had been moving along this route since February. And all the time in the opposite direction was a steady flow of men, vehicles and munitions of war on their way up to reinforce the defence of the Burma Front against the invading Japanese.

Existing facilities have, of course, been improved, extended and supplemented. We know for instance that a second land route into Burma has been opened, a long way north of the Manipur road, by way of the Hukawng Valley. The newspaper accounts show that this work has been carried on through the year, regardless of the immense physical and climatic obstacles and at great speed. It would have been impossible to carry it on through the rainy season, which is a very long one, if the engineers had had to rely on normal methods of road-making and it had been necessary to house, feed and attend to the welfare of thousands of coolies from all over India. Success, I imagine, was only rendered possible by the use of such modern mechanical appliances for road-making as enabled the Americans to construct the Alaska Highway, and of every modern device for the welfare of the men working on it.

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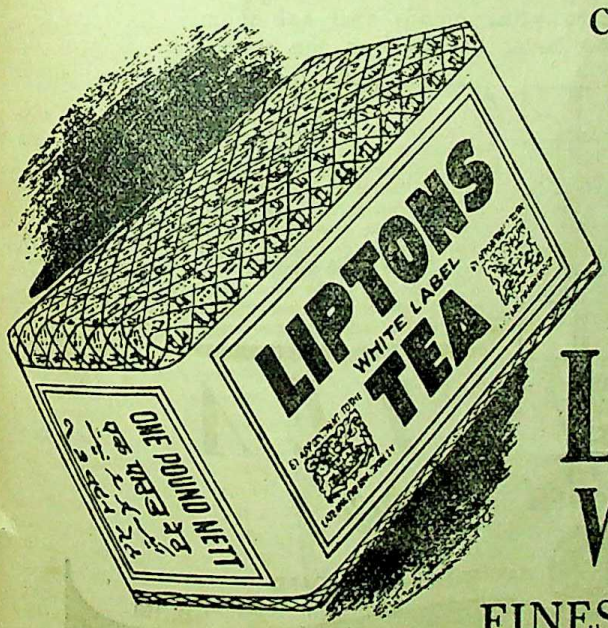

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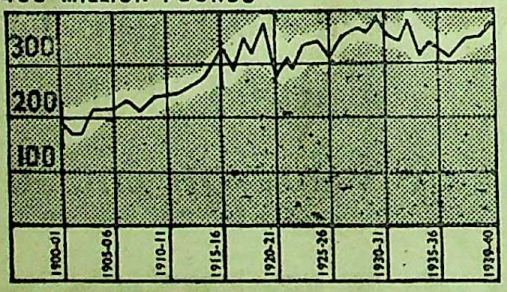

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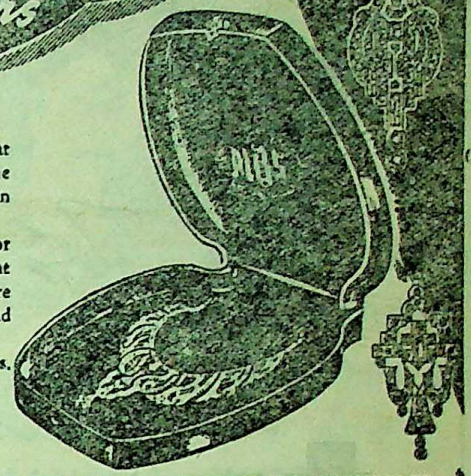

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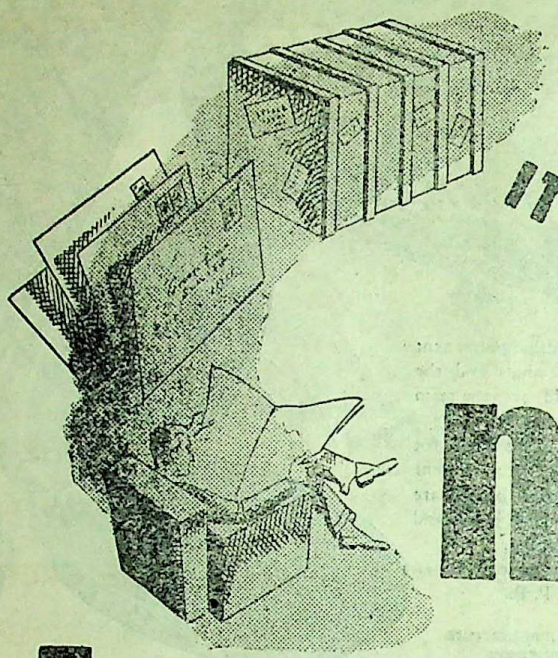

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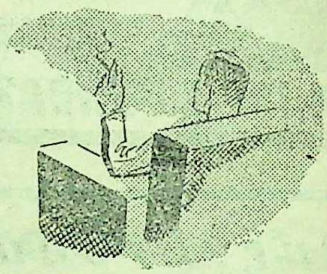

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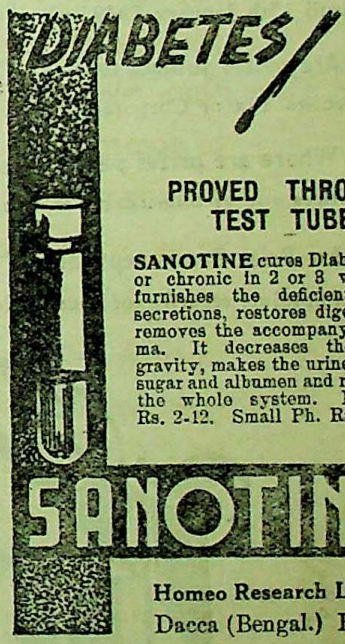

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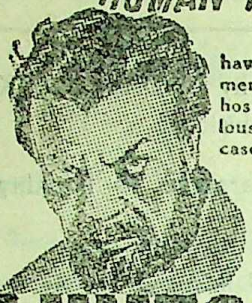

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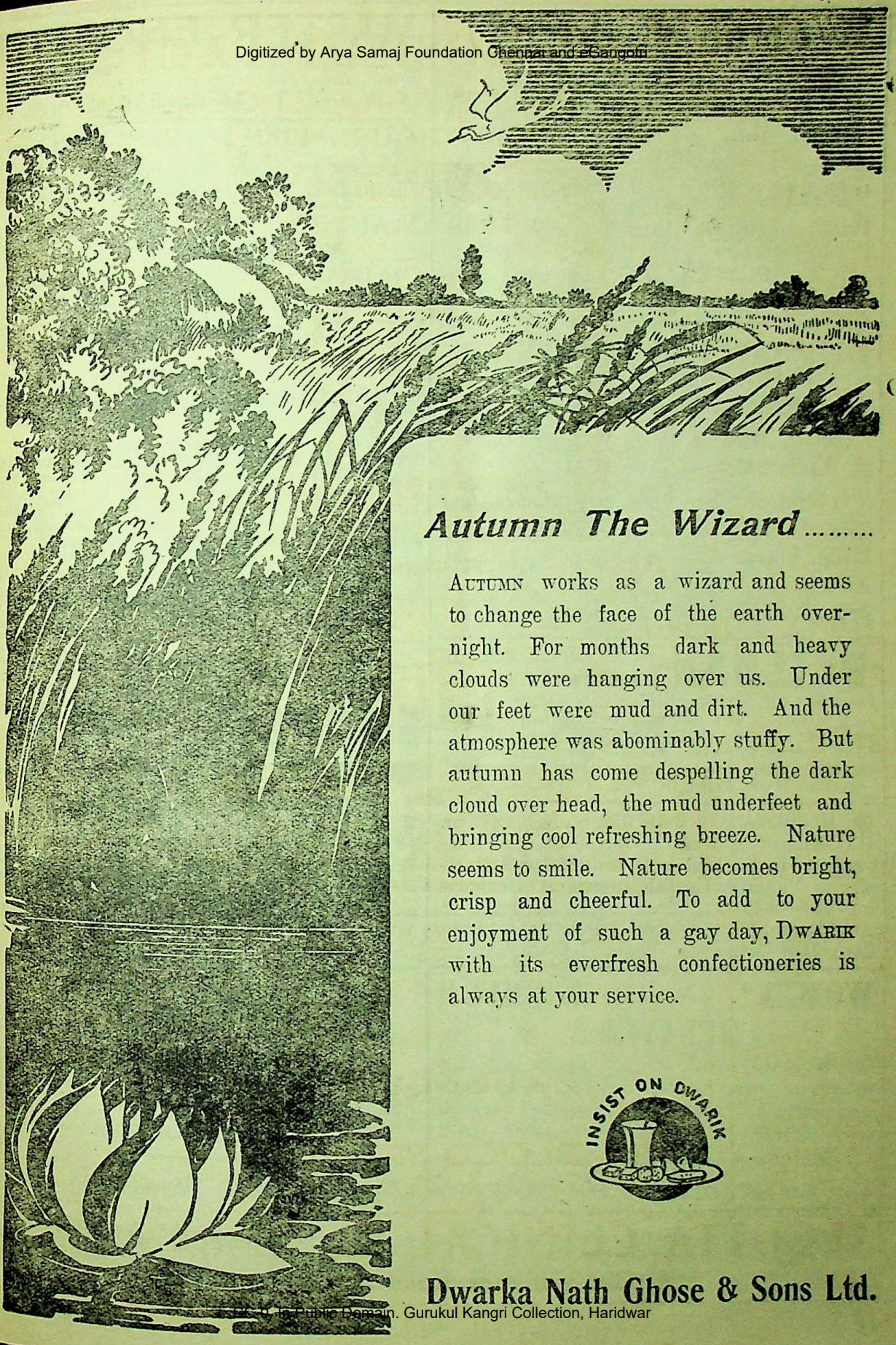

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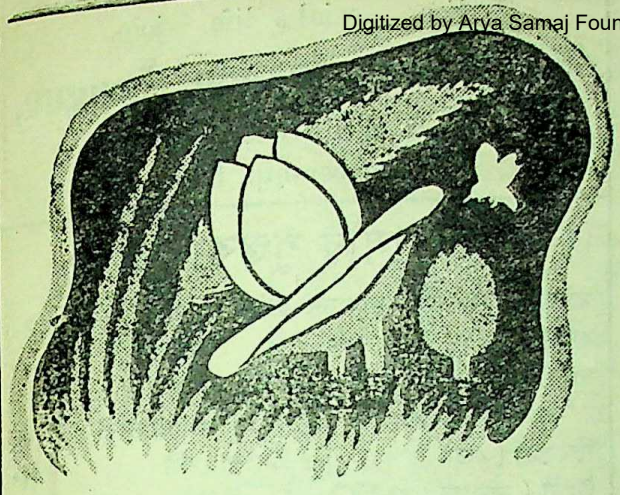

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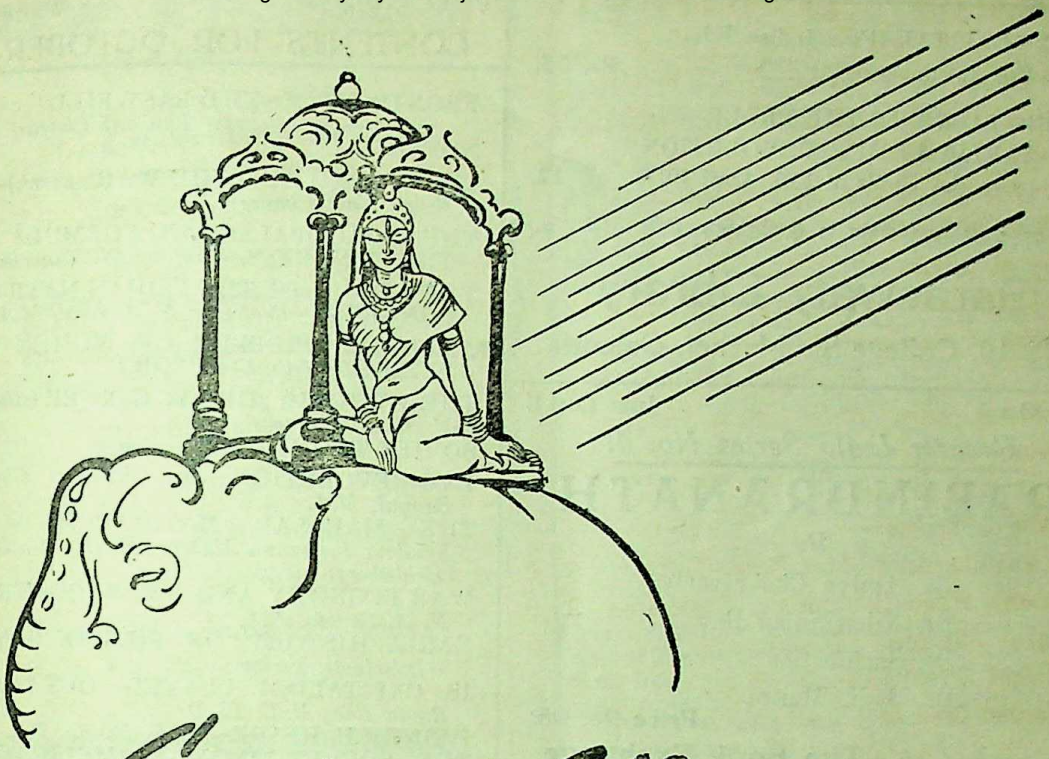

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Vol. LXXVI., No. 4 Whole No. 454

CONTENTS FOR OCTOBER, 1944

	Page
FRONTISPIECE—THE LAST FILL —(*in colours*)—*Bhabani Charan Guin*	
NOTES	177
THE WORLD AND THE WAR (*illust.*)—*Kedar Nath Chatterji* ...	187
THE RAJAGOPALACHARI FORMULA AND THE CONGRESS—*Prof. D. N. Banerjee*	189
THE ORIGIN OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS—*Professor N. Kaviraj, M.A.*	190
AMERICA'S PROBLEM OF WOMEN WAR WORKERS (*illust.*)—*USOWI*	193
THE HISTORIC FORT AT GINGEE (*illust.*)—*N. Ramakrishna* ...	195
SOVIET TADJIKISTAN—*Pomus*	197
EVO-REVOLUTION—*Prof. Kshirod Chandra Sanyal, M.A.*	199
THE MALABAR MATRIARCHY — *Prof. Krishna Prasanna Mukerji, M.A., B.L., D.Phil. (Heidelberg)*	201
WAR ECONOMY AND PRICE CONTROL—*N. A. Sarma, B.A.* ...	204
EARLY HISTORY OF SILK IN BENGAL —*Debajyoti Burman* ...	207
IS CAPITALISM PLAYED OUT?—*D. V. Rama Rao, M.A., LL.B.* ...	209
HEINRICH HEINE—*M. K. Pande, B.A.*	211
THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF GANDHISM—*Prof. P. A. Wadia*	212

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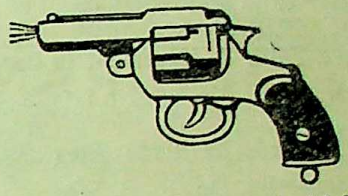

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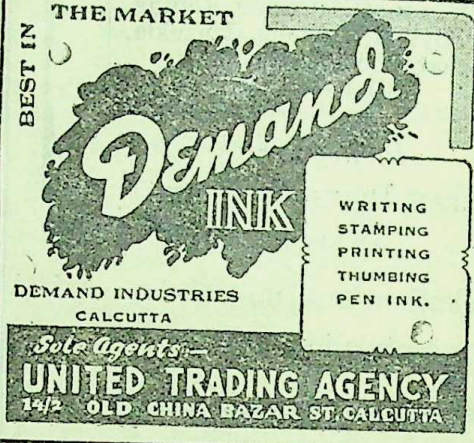
CONTENTS—(Continued)

	PAGE
BOOK REVIEWS: ...	213—216
R. C. Majumdar, Manindramohan Moulik, Sarojendranath Bhanja and S. C. Mitra, M. S. Sengar, A. B. Dutta, U. C. Bhattacharjee, Jitendranath Bose, Santosh Chatterjee, Brajendra Nath Banerjee, Chintaharan Chakravarti, G. M., K. V. Subba Rao, K. M. J.	
INDIAN PERIODICALS: ...	219—222
John Dalton 1766-1844 ...	... 219
Jan Ignace Paderewski ...	... 220
FOREIGN PERIODICALS: ...	223—224
Pakistan in Ireland ...	... 223
Indian-American One of Most Important U. S. Engineers ...	... 224
Nervousness—Cause and Cure ...	... 224



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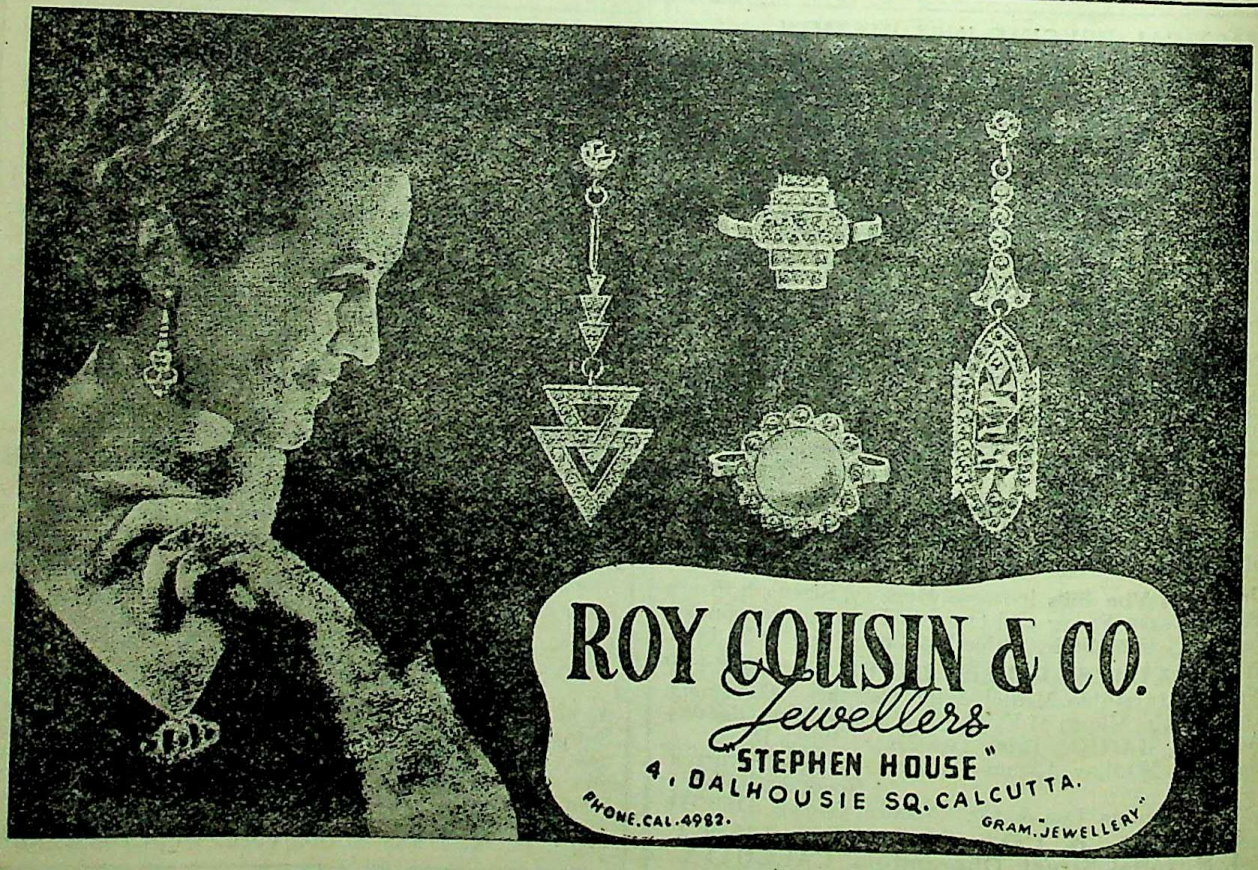

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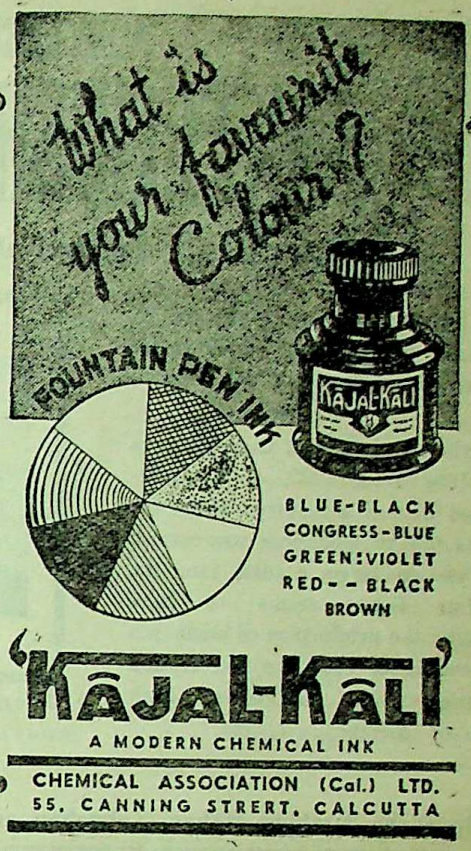

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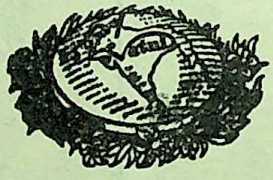

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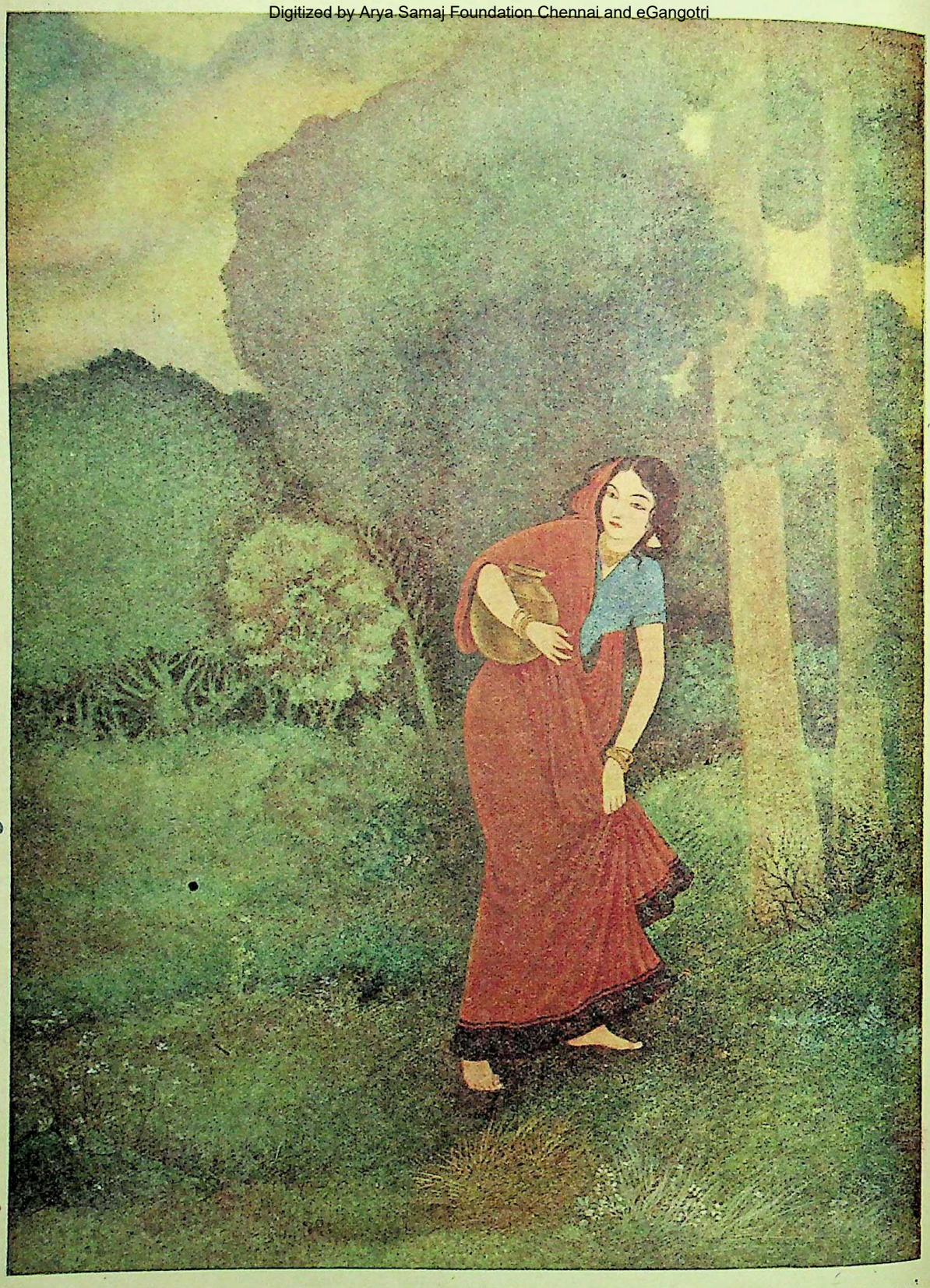

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THE MODERN REVIEW

OCTOBER 1944

VOL. LXXVI, No. 4 WHOLE No. 454

NOTES

Famine Commission and After

The Famine Commission is sitting and is carrying on with its investigations. Meanwhile Bengal is slowly sinking into apathy. Occasional outbursts of recriminations sometimes break up the silence to be followed by periods of deeper gloom. The condition may be compared to one of coma that overcomes a weak patient, after a severe illness, thereby indicating vital damage. This province does not seem to realise that there are many things to be done while the Commission is sitting and that we must prepare to guard against the recurrence of any such disaster in future. The function of the present Commission is mainly of the nature of an enquiry and even if any substantially sound recommendations are made, effect may be given to them—if given at all—only in the distant future. Public alertness is a great pre-requisite to compel the Government to honour their commitments. The sound recommendations of the Famine Commission of 1901 as embodied in the Famine Code, were quietly passed over because there were no organisations to mobilise public opinion and demand its application. The recommendations of the last Gregory Committee could be similarly ignored by the Government of India.

In a country of continuous famines, the need for a vigilant central public organisation has been keenly felt to detect and watch the course of it, to keep both the Government and people aware of their duties and to co-ordinate relief operations to mitigate sufferings. The crying need for such a body had been felt particularly during the last famine. It is high time that a representative body was immediately formed with non-official majority to function throughout the year. Its main function should be of an advisory and co-ordinating character, with a view to assist official and non-official organisations in fighting distress, in increasing food supply, food production and in attempting to rehabilitate the pauperised agricultural population. Immediately on its formation, it should make its own survey of the situation.

Survey by this body is essential as unless the extent of damage is known, remedial measures cannot be adequately planned. Mortality figures during the last famine as calculated by the officials and the public have shown wide divergence. The faulty nature of the collection of vital and agricultural statistics has been admitted by some of the Ministers and the people know them to be so. There is ample scope for a non-official expert survey to find out how many people were affected, how many died, how many have been permanently disabled and require long term help, how many families have been destroyed and to what extent and in what ways rehabilitation is needed. Investigations into these problems by a government on which the people have no confidence, will fail to convince the public and will not serve as a basis for future planning.

When and if the report of the present Famine Commission is published and if the report contains any recommendations, this body will be in a position to analyse and put into action any suggestions of value without loss of time, thereby reducing the interminable delays of official red tape.

Government help for the body, whose formation we have advocated, should be forthcoming because its primary action would be to [illegible] of provincial economy. But if no Government help is obtained, it should

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attempt to carry on independently since it is growing more and more plain everyday that the economic life of Bengal is gradually sinking below normal without any signs of recovery. The root causes of this collapse must be sought for and the extent gauged by specialists, and a plan to combat them should immediately be set up. Social pathologists and physicians are needed to-day to diagnose and stop the present decay in the national life of Bengal.

No Famine in Occupied Europe

The London correspondent of the *Hindu* cables:

In the course of a despatch headed "This is no famine-stricken Europe", the war correspondent, Alexander Clifford, says, "We are liberating a continent much less ruined than we supposed and a people who hate Germans even more than we believed."

"When we landed in France *we were surprised and* almost *perplexed at the abundance of food in Normandy*" he writes. "Quite obviously *no one has been starving there,* but we thought that perhops it was because Normandy is agriculturally so excessively rich. Yet when we advanced out of it there was no great change. In Paris the people do not look pale, pinched or starved. Even during the transition period before the liberation, there was food to be had. There is great hardship in working class quarters. No one could pretend that things there are anywhere near normal. But I submit that the *food situation in most France is better than it was in Italy.* I have driven through many little villages and stopped at Inns for lunch and they always produced something and they sold it willingly. Their diet certainly is worse since the war, but *your vision of a famine-stricken Europe must go by the board."*

"In Belgium", says Clifford, *"the situation seems even better than in France. En route* to Brussels I went into the kitchen of a country house. The housewife confided to me that they had not really been badly off in Belgium. Everything was organised and even poor people were kept alive. The working people in slums have suffered and there has been progressive malnutrition owing to shortage of fats, but it is not so terrible as we had feared it would be. It is not like Italy where any scrap of food left over from our rations was ravenously accepted. Here, in Belgium, they rather hrug their shoulders at our tinned stuff and offer us their fresh food in return."

According to Clifford this state of affairs is partly due to German organisation. "They can organise well and they have always recognised the maxim that the best slave is a contented slave; but much more due to the cleverness of the French and Belgian farmers and producers who kept their products back from the Germans and sold them on the black market."

"So it is not on account of their stomachs that the French and the Belgians hate the Germans ferociously", says Clifford. "It is because of the Germans' suppression of all freedoms and their cruel arrogance and gracelessness. The torture chambers are here and the hatred that results is genuine enough."

This despatch was published in a London daily. Reading this, a prominent journalist of Fleet Street told the United Press of India representative in London: "I hope the same can be said about India—there is no famine—when she is liberated from the British domination."

Things are however entirely different on this part of the globe. In the thick of the war and at a time when the British Governmen spokesmen waxed eloquent on India's magnificent war effort and the high morale of the Indian army, one of the worst famines in human history was allowed to sweep over the Eastern war zone and take a toll of millions of human lives that could certainly be saved through adequate and timely help. Not only that practically nothing was done to bring food supplies from abroad to the famine-stricken areas, but wastage of foodstuff on a colossal scale was allowed. The *New Orissa,* in its issue for August 31, disclosed that the Bihar Government had recently released 1,17,786 maunds of foodstuff. This was stocked last year for export to Bengal during the famine but never reached its destination. This amount was sufficient to provide full meals for 40,000 adults for one year. Recently the Bengal Government has intimated industrial concerns that 1,46,000 maunds of wheat products in their stock have become unfit for human consumption and may be available for sizing purposes. A statement by Sj. Manoranjan Chaudhury of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha revealed that 200 lorryloads of foodstuff, which were allowed to rot in open stacks in the Botanical Gardens of Sibpore, have been dumped in a vacant land of Howrah. Government said that compost was being manufactured out of this foodstuff. Eight months ago, the daily *Basumati* of Calcutta had warned the Government that thousands of maunds of foodstuff stacked in an open space in the Botanical Gardens would soon become unfit for human consumption if they are not properly stored. This warning went unheeded. The nature of foreign aid may well be gauged from the following cabled news:

Montreal, Sept. 18.—The present plans of the UNRRA do not include provision for aid in connexion with the food shortages in India, according to a Press conference statement made by Mr. H. H. Lehmann, Director-General of UNRRA, today.

Asked whether aid would be extended to India in view of the food shortages resulting from the limitations of war-time transportation, Mr. Lehmann said "Unless a decision to do so is made at the present Council meeting, we don't at present intend to send supplies to India."—*Reuter.*

An organisation which pooled world resources to alleviate a supposed famine in occupied Europe does not think that aid should be extended to India.

Bombay Chamber on Menace of Foreign Combines

Discussing the fate of the Indian industries the spokesman of the Chamber said:

It is a matter of great disappointment to us that all attempts by Indians to start key industries such as automobile, shipbuilding, aircraft, etc., had been unceremoniously turned down, while Canada and Australia and other countries in the British Common-

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wealth had been allowed to do everything possible during the war to develop new industries.

The speaker stated that the recent policy of importing consumer goods on a large scale was causing serious concern to the Chamber and wanted to know how India would be treated in the post-war period regarding these vital matters.

It was emphasised by the speaker that those who invested capital in spite of all the restrictions imposed upon them were eager to know what future was in store for them.

With regard to the policy of taxing industries, the speaker observed that the policy had deprived the industries of the financial resources they badly needed.

The menace of foreign combines was causing grave concern to Indian industrialists and there was widespread apprehension that the Nitrogen industry with the manufacture of fertilizers would be handed over to a non-Indian combine.

"You are aware of the bitter lessons which we have learnt to our cost as a result of the operations of such combines as the Swedish Combine in the match industry, the activities of Lever Brothers in the soap and other industries and the Imperial Chemical Company in the chemical and dyeing industries. Their powerful connections and thier great resources have not only stifled the growth of Indian industries owned, controlled and managed by the nationals of the country, but they have also deprived the country of the wealth which true national economy would have otherwise retained in the country", remarked the speaker and appealed for an assurance from Government that no fresh outside vested interests would be created in the country now and in the future but all industries hereafter would be owned, controlled and managed by the nationals of the country.

The speaker stressed the supreme need for a national navy of supply and asked what Government proposed to do in the matter.

The Government of Australia classified their industries into three categories at the very beginning of the war. The essential industries coming under Class A were developed through Government aid and they were promised protection after the war. Class B industries, needed during the war but which will not be wanted after the conclusion of the peace, were told that they will get expenses of liquidition and compensation while they wind up after the war. In India, not only nothing of this kind has been done, but discrimination and favoured treatment has all along been granted to foreign interests in their competition against Indian trade and industries.

Indian Merchants' Talk with Commerce Member

Questions relating to the future trade and tariff policy, development of a National Navy, India's place at International Conferences, controls and canalisation, and the need for greater consultation, hedge trading in oil seeds, shortage of coal, cotton floor prices, and supply of consumer goods with special reference to Government's import policy, were the salient features of discussions which took place between the Committee of the Indian Merchants Chamber of Bombay and the Commerce Member of the Government of India. The Secretary and the Joint Secretary of the Commerce Department were also present. The Chamber put forward the view that "the problems of peace, which was not far off, were of as much concern as the problems of war. Statesmanship lay in understanding the fundamental aspects of these problems in time and in evolving the lines on which they could be effectively solved in the true interests of India." The tendency of the Government of India, however, is quite different, driving in a direction exactly opposite to that which the Bombay Chamber advocates as the goal. Signs are unmistakably clear that the chief post-war aim of the Government of India will be to maintain the present stranglehold on Indian trade and industry in order to ensure better market for British goods in this country.

Government of India's Export and Import Policy

The Bombay Chamber made the definite and pointed allegation directly before the member in charge and the secretaries of the Commerce Department of the Government of India that

> cotton goods had been exported out of India when they were urgently needed for covering the bare bodies of the people of this land. Foodstuffs were exported when they were badly required to keep off starvation and preventing conditions which brought about famine in Bengal and other parts in the country. Coal was exported with the result that several industries had been compelled to curtail their production and some of them had even to be closed.

These serious allegations are borne out by Government's own figures. The *Monthly Survey of Business Conditions in India*, issued by the office of the Economic Adviser, Government of India, in its latest number (Jan.-Feb. 1944) just received, states that the export of cotton manufactures amounted to 772.5 million yards in 1941-42 and 818.5 in 1942-43 while the pre-war figure for such export was only 177 million yards. Internal production remained practically constant during the last five years, being about 4,200 million yards. Imports have fallen from 647.1 million yards in 1938-39 to 181.6 million yards in 1941-42 and 13.1 in 1942-43. Thus while production remained constant and imports fell heavily, large quantities of cotton piecegoods were allowed to go out of the country. As regards rice export, truth is being suppressed, the *Bulletin* states that since January 1943, the publication of export figures for rice has been discontinued.

British Plan to Exploit Post-War India

British plans for exploiting post-war India are being drawn up. *Reuter* understands that a

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large industrial group, representing 50 industries, has been formed in the Midlands as the result of a conference convened to make a special study of potentialities of India as a market or manufacturing extension for their engineering and other products.

This is likely to be the fore-runner of other groups representing export trade interests that will be set up with the encouragement of groups of members of Parliament who consider corporate preparation as an essential preliminary to plans for making international trade agreements after peace is restored.

In the meantime, the U. K. C. C. is strengthening its hold on India. Although all the Indian Chambers of Commerce believe that this organisation has become a menace to Indian foreign and internal trade, the Government of India sees no harm in its activities. A few days ago, the Commerce Member of the Government of India, in a discussion with the representatives of Indian merchants at Bombay, stressed the "harmlessness" of the activities of the U. K. C. C. and very kindly offered to "encourage the idea of collaboration between certain industrial groups and the Government for profitable exploitation of export and import business." Such arrangements only mean the offer of a junior partnership to Indian business interests in the U. K. C. C. activities whereas without this Imperial handicap, they could have been the major partner. The U. K. C. C. first appeared in this country as an organisation to deal only in war articles during the war. The Government have persistently declared that it had nothing to do with the normal trade and industry of India. But signs are quite clear now that this monopolistic organisation subsidised and patronised by the British Government has come here to stay even after the war. Only those favoured Indian merchants who are on the good books of the Government will be allowed to "co-operate" with this body, the rest will go to the wall.

Another instance of secret designs on the fate of India has recently been disclosed by Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetty, a delegate to the Bretton Woods Conference. In a speech at the Loyola College, Madras, he said that the Indian delegation managed to get a secret document which the United States authorities had prepared, allotting quotas to various countries on the basis of certain economic data. According to that document, Soviet Russia was allotted 900 million dollars, China 320 million and India 372 million dollars. Nothing was allotted to France. Later France was given 500 million, and they increased the Chinese quota to 500 million and reduced India's quota to 300 million. When the question was raised by the Indian delegation, everybody began to disown the document. Two days before the Conference was to terminate, Mr. Morganthau informed the Indian delegation that the quota was raised to 400 million dollars..

Sir Shanmukham Chetty asked the Secretary to the United States Treasury what was the basis for the allocation of the quota to China. Mr. Morganthau replied: "China was given a greater share for military and political reasons" in view of the great sacrifice she had made and the sufferings she had undergone. The Indian delegation realised that China was entitled to great consideration.

When it came to the question of permanent seats in executive bodies, Mr. Morganthau said "The United States public will not reconcile themselves to the position in which two permanent seats are given to the British Empire." Therefore, remarked Sir Shanmukam, India lost a permanent seat in this international body because of her membership in the British Empire.

Living Conditions of the Civilian in India

Living conditions of the poor and the middle class people of India, particularly for those whose income is derived from other than the Government sources, have become terrible and intolerably hard to say the least. Conditions are similar in Bengal, Madras, Orissa and in many parts of the Central Provinces as well. A chronic famine continues to prevail in these areas. Hardship has been the greatest in Bengal, where the price of every article of daily necessity has gone up by four to eight times.

Accommodation difficulties in the cities continue. Release of some building material might have eased the situation to some extent but that has not been done. Travel has become a terror to the lower class passengers. Telephone and the post office have become thoroughly inefficient. The telegraph equally so. In many cases, telegrams reach their destination later than letters. City transport remains a menace.

But all these difficulties are for the non-official ordinary civilian, and not for profiteers and high officials. Travel for them remains as easy and luxurious as ever before. While the public ride on the bumpers of the buses, their cars may be seen in hundreds at the race courses. Food, clothing and medicine are also within their easy reach. During the last famine, essential foodstuffs were purchased at any price for distributing them among the employees of the official and semi-official organisations. Merchant and industrial organisations who had been virtually converted into offices

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houses by being switched on to war work, reaped this benefit. These bulk purchases on the already depleted public stocks shot prices up causing extreme suffering to the average non-official. Black markets flourished through these loopholes and are still flourishing.

Hindu Women's Rights

The Hindu Intestate Bill has evoked controversy in Bengal. A fragment of the vocal section of Hindu ladies in this province have opposed the Bill, while the majority have supported it and have blessed its sponsor, Mrs. Renuka Ray. The following letter published in the *Statesman* represents the view of the supporters of the Bill:

> The Hindu Intestate Bill, which is most mild, is going to be placed before the Central Legislature in this session. Mrs. Renuka Roy should deserve our warmest congratulations for her untiring activities in this connexion. When everyone should support such a Bill and prepare the ground for more drastic and revolutionary nature, it is most distressing and disturbing that some ladies who happen to be the wives of the distinguished men of Bengal are doing to retard the progress of the Bill and thus they would do inestimable harm to the Hindu women of Bengal. The women of Bengal refused to be taught the Hindu shastras from the arm chair lady politicians, who will do well in not shedding their crocodile tears for their sisters. Three recent cases in the High Court have not moved these distinguished ladies. So long the rights and interests were protected by these ladies and so-called Pandits, and one shudders to think of the terrible and pitiable conditions of the women under their care and patronage. These activities should not disturb Mrs. Roy. She should go ahead with the Bill. We protest vehemently against the formation of the Bengal Hindu Women's Association who represent none but themselves.—Bela Dutta Choudhury.

Another lady, Mrs. Nilima Chaudhury, writing in the same newspaper, points out that

> The opinions received on the proposed Bill were mostly favourable throughout India. I have no doubt that every Hindu woman of Bengal will support the Bill, as for the first time in many generations it proposes (a) to remove the sex-disqualification by which Hindu women in general have hitherto been precluded from inheriting property in various parts of India, (b) a common law of intestate succession for all Hindus in British India, (c) it abolishes the Hindu women's limited estate.

The opposition to the Bill was also voiced in the columns of the same newspaper by Leila Ray Chaudhuri whose main grounds of opposition are that (1) the reforms should come through evolution rather than revolution, (2) that if the daughter is allowed to share in paternal wealth, the son also should have a title in the mother's *stridhan* property, and (3) that legal expenses will increase because more wills will be created. None of these arguments are anything like convincing. The Bill in reality is a very slow evolutionary measure, it seeks to secure a right for women that should have been conferred centuries ago and which is enjoyed by women of our sister community for a long time.

Regarding the opposition by a small but highly vociferous group, all we need say that the main distinction of these estimable ladies is that they are wives of successful and eminent professional men. We have never heard their names in connection with any activity for the alleviation of misery amongst their fellow country-women. Now, when some active members of their sex try to uplift the status of our womenkind, they openly cry havoc in a misfaken attempt at retarding progress!

The Phillips Report

A cabled summary of the Phillips Report has been published in *The Modern Review* for September. A fuller statement is available now and the concluding portion of it is given below:

> The present Indian army *is purely mercenary and only that part of it which is drawn from the martial races has been tried in actual warfare and these martial soldiers represent only 33 per cent of the army.* Gen. Stilwell has expressed concern on the situation and in particular in regard to the poor morale of Indian officers.
>
> The attitude of the general public towards the war is even worse. Lassitude and indifference and bitterness have increased as a result of famine conditions, the growing high cost of living and continued political deadlock.
>
> While India is *broken politically* into various parties and groups all have *one object in common*—eventual *freedom and independence from British domination.*
>
> There would seem to be only one remedy to this highly unsatisfactory situation in which we are unfortunately but nevertheless seriously involved and that is change of attitude of the people of India towards the war—to make them feel that we want them to assume responsibilities to the United Nations and are prepared to give them facilities for doing so and that the voice of India will play a part in the reconstruction of the world.
>
> The present political conditions do not permit of any improvement in this respect. Even though the British should fail again it is high time they should make an effort to improve the conditions and re-establish confidence among the Indian people that their future independence is to be granted.
>
> Words are of no avail—they only aggravate the present situation. It is time for the British to act. *This they can do by a solemn declaration from the King Emperor that India will achieve her independence at a specific date after the war* and as a guarantee of good faith in this respect a Provisional Representative Coalition Government will be re-established at the Centre and limited powers transferred to it.
>
> I feel strongly, Mr. President, that in view of our military position in India *we should have a voice in these matters.* It is not right for the British to say his is none of your business when we alone presumably will have to play a major part in the struggle against Japan. If we do nothing and merely accept the British point of view that conditions in India are none of our business, then we must be prepared for various serious consequences in the internal situation in India which may develop as result of despair and misery and anti-white sentiments of hundreds of millions of the subject people. The people of Asia I am supported in this opinion by other diplomatic and military observers—cynically

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regard this war as one between the Fascist and the Imperialist powers. A generous gesture from Britain to India would change this undesirable political atmosphere. India itself might then be expected more positively to support our war effort against Japan. China, which regards the Anglo-American Bloc with misgivings and mistrust, might then be assured that we are in truth fighting for a better world and the colonial people conquered by the Japanese might hopefully feel they have something better to look forward to than return to their old masters.

Such gestures, Mr. President, will produce not only a tremendous psychological stimulus to the flagging morale through Asia and facilitate our military operations in that theatre but it will also be proof positive to all people—our own and the British included—that this is not a war of power politics but a war for all we say it is for.

At the beginning of the war, Congress wanted only two things from the British Government—*viz.*, a *declaration* that India would achieve her independence at a specific date after the war, and that a National Government would be formed at the centre and only limited powers transferred to it during the continuance of the war.

Chandler on Phillips Report

The publication of the Phillips Report has led to sensational developments. Senator Chandler in the Senate demanded that President Roosevelt should make a full report on conditions in India. He said: "I believe in co-operating with our allies, but only by knowing the truth of the situation in other countries can we hope for a genuine co-operative peace." He alleged that Mr. Phillips had been attacked by the British for his Report on the Indian situation and declared that British representatives in the United States had even approached certain American publishers with a view to preventing the publication of Mr. Phillips' views. Senator Chandler, had with five other Senators, visited India last year. He said that high British officials in the United States had told him that what was happening in India was none of his or the Senate's business. Mr. Chandler added:

'I repudiate that statement. *Conditions there had a bearing on the war with Japan.* If the British are going to be able to force a recall of our diplomats merely because they submit truthful reports, I think we ought to know about it.'

'Our British allies have taken an incredibly harmful step which can only injure the friendly relations between ourselves and them in declaring President Roosevelt's personal ambassador, Mr. Phillips, *persona non-grata.* The British Foreign Office took this action because Mr. Phillips made a report on the conditions in India which the British do not like. Is the Government of the United States so weak, are our people so incompetent, has our sovereignty been so impaired that even the President is no longer permitted to know the truth about conditions in friendly countries?'

'Only by knowing the truth of the conditions in countries not as we wish them to be but as they exist, can the American people in future organise and promote a policy of friendship with other nations that will lead to a lasting peace.'

In answer to an inquiry, a spokesman of the British embassy said that it was not true that the British Government had described Mr. Phillips as *persona non-grata.*

Six days after, Senator Chandler made public a telegram which he said had been sent to London by Sir Olaf Caroe, Secretary to the External Affairs Department of the Government of India in which he said that the Indian Government could not again receive Mr. Phillips. The telegram said in part:

"We feel strongly that the British Embassy should be supported in carrying this matter further with the State Department. We are doing our best to prevent the entry of newspapers or letters carrying the text of Mr. Pearson's article. We understand that the designation of Mr. Phillips is still the President's Personal Representative to India. Whether or not he has been connected in any way with the leakage of the views he has stated, it would make it impossible for us to do other than regard him as 'persona non-grata' and we could not receive him. His views are not what we are entitled to expect from a professedly friendly envoy. The Viceroy has seen this telegram."

Senator Chandler further said that he was in possession of a confidential letter written by Mr. Phillips to President Roosevelt, dated May 14, 1943, which could not be made public this time, but if occasion developed he would read it in the open Senate. The campaign was started by the famous American columnist Mr. Drew Pearson, whom the President Roosevelt not long ago dubbed unreliable. Mr. Pearson, apparently supported by powerful politicians, such as Mr. Sumner Welles and Senator Chandler, laid the trap for the American President. He first hinted at the contents of Mr. Phillips' Report in India and when someone denied their accuracy he published the full text.

A resolution is also coming before the U. S. House of Representatives to be moved by Mr. Calvin Johnson, to declare Sir Ronald Campbell and Sir Girija Sankar Bajpai *persona non-grata* because of their efforts to 'mould' American public opinion.

"India More Important than 1,000 Phillips's"—Eden

The following *Reuter's* message from New York appears in Colombo papers:

Commentator Drew Pearson's syndicate column "Washington Merry Go Round" in Monday's New York *Daily Mirror* declares: "Diplomats are indignant over the ousting of Ambassador William Phillips from London as political adviser to General Eisenhower. Mr. Phillips came home for 'personal reasons'. But the fact is that he was asked to leave London because he wrote a letter to President Roosevelt criticising British policy in India and recommending Indian independence.

"The letter published in this column on July 25, caused a furore. The British demanded official explanations. Instead the Foreign Minister, Mr. Anthony Eden, asked for Mr. Phillips' recall. Britain also demanded

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the recall from New Delhi of General Merrell, acting as chief of the United States mission in India during Mr. Phillips' absence. He resigned and returns shortly. The British objected because Mr. Phillips reported to his chief on India. London is sore over his point that India is of great concern to us on account of the Japanese war."

After quoting Mr. Phillips as stating, "The Indian Army is mercenary. It is time for the British to act. They can declare that India will achieve her independence at a specified date after the war," Mr. Pearson declared: "Mr. Eden cabled Sir Ronald Campbell, British Charge d'Affaires in Washington, stating that he and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, were perturbed and ordered the Embassy to approach the State Department with a formal demand for investigation. Mr. Cordell Hull informed the Embassy that Mr. Phillips' letter had leaked out through the former Under-Secretary, Mr. Sumner Welles. Mr. Eden again cabled expressing surprise that a paper of the calibre of the *Washington Post* published Mr. Phillips' letter and suggesting that the *Post* should publish an editorial ontradicting and criticising the story. When Sir Ronald cabled this to London, Mr. Eden replied asking the *Post* to correct Mr. Phillips' statement about a mercenary army.

"In London Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden put the heat on on the United States Ambassador, Mr. John Winant, and had that official ask *Mr. Phillips* if he *still held the same views*. Mr. Phillips said he did more than ever but was sorry his letter was published adding. '*I hope my other reports, even stronger*, will not leak.' Mr. Eden cabled his Embassy to inform the State Department that Mr. Phillips was *persona non grata* in London, observing : "*India is more important than a thousand Phillips's*".

All Not Well on the Stilwell Front

A *United Press* message from London states that warm tributes to General Stilwell were paid by Admiral Lord Mountbatten just before he left London. But that all is not well on the Stilwell front is indicated by the *Tribune*, a powerful and outspoken weekly. Commenting on the Phillips Report, the paper writes:

"In itself this may be unimportant but it is a symptom of the growing tension in the Anglo-American relations over the Far Eastern policy. General Stilwell is now in a peculiar position. He is the Deputy Commander-in-Chief to Lord Louis Mountbatten, he is the Commander-in-Chief of the American-Chinese forces in North Burma. He is the Chief of Staff to Marshal Chiang Kai-shek and he is the Lease-Lend Administrator for China. He is also the most determined believer that America's future is definitely linked with China, both politically and economically and he is determined to keep out any who wish to trespass.

"In India there is a strong feeling that General Stilwell is more concerned about America's future interests in China than in co-operation with the conduct of operations as outlined and requested by the South-East Asia Command. He has been present only twice at the conferences of Army Chiefs during the last six months. He generally has the reputation for non-co-operation. Also it is said that his role in Northern Burma has been widely exaggerated by the American publicity machine. For two months he has been attacking 800 Japs at Mitajgaung with a force numbering something like 12,000 but the place did not fall until the Chindits moved up from the south and took it.

"All this of course is not known to the public here because of strict Indian censorship on the one hand and the one-sidedness of reporting in America.

"We do not say that Gen. Stilwell is always wrong and Admiral Mountbatten right; but clearly his situation is not healthy and sooner a full statement is made to Parliament on the position in the Far East the better it will be for all concerned. Healthy relations cannot be constructed on suppression and ignorance."

America's Future in Asia

Demaree Bess had been foreign correspondent for ten years in China. In an article contributed to the *Saturday Evening Post*, he raises the question of America's future in Asia. He expresses doubts about the power and capacity of China to keep the peace in Asia and in the Pacific and tries to persuade America to take up in right earnest her obligations in these places. He writes:

It is probable that the future of the Pacific area is of more direct concern to the United States than anything which may happen in post-war Poland or Yugoslavia or France or Greece.

Europeans are going to settle their own affairs with or without post-war assistance from us. The Russians and the British, the French, the Dutch, the Belgians and all the others have made this clear to us in recent months. Our two major Allies—Britain and Russia—are more directly concerned with the future of Europe than we Americans are and for this reason *they have made commitments in Europe* which we still hesitate to make.

But this is not true in the Pacific. There we already have taken in formidable and permanent obligations. We have accepted responsibility for creating a post-war regime in Asia after Japan ceases to exist as a military power.

Attempting to enlighten to us on this point, the Cairo conference stipulated that the Japanese will be stripped of all imperial possessions and thrown back upon their crowded islands—73,000,000 strong. It stipulated that Korea will receive independence eventually. It assumed that Chinese territory will not only remain intact but will be expanded.

But who is going to make the Japanese stay on their islands? Who is going to guarantee Korean independence while the weak and untrained Koreans prepare themselves for self-rule? Who is going to make sure that Chinese territorial integrity is preserved?

The Cairo Conference based its entire Far Eastern project on the premise that China is one of the world's four great powers. Demaree Bess wants to differ from this on ground that China has no modern army, navy or air force; it possesses no heavy industry and has no modern transport or industrial system. These grounds however do not rule out China's claim or ability to police the Far East.

Post-War Power Politics in the Pacific

Demaree Bess foreshadows the rise of an American Imperialism in the Far East. He says:

The obligations which we have already assumed in the Pacific area are one form of power politics, for the post-war regime outlined at the *Cairo Conference* is *based upon power politics*. The United States and the British Empire pledged themselves to underwrite he future of relatively defenceless Asiatic nations a pledge

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which is predicted at present only upon American and British military power. *Soviet Russia has put off the clarification of its position in Asia until after the war in Europe is ended.*

We are hopeful that Soviet Russia and the British Empire will co-operate wholeheartedly with us in respecting Chinese territorial integrity and in keeping the Japanese bound to their islands and in guiding Korea through a period of tutelage leading to eventual independence. But it is well to remember that in 1922 we also were hopeful that we had settled the future of the Far East at the Washington Conference, when we induced the Japanese to join in the Nine-Power Treaty not to infringe upon Chinese territory. We made the mistake then of believing that this agreement *would not require the use of American military power* and we even reduced our already inadequate military establishment in the Pacific.

Bess then writes: "We have only ourselves to blame if we make that mistake again, for the Japanese, no matter how thoroughly they are beaten and disarmed, are a military nation more skilled in the acts of war than the Chinese." He believes that military power alone counts and wants America to remain a military power in the Pacific for the maintenance of the Far Eastern peace. He visualises Russia extending her sphere of influence in all those vast Asiatic territories which adjoin her borders and Britain controlling her lucrative resources of India, Burma and Malaya as it did before. It will have the natural support of other European Empires with possessions in the Far East, the Dutch, the French and the Portuguese. Forecasting the rise of an American Imperialism, Bess finally says:

> Are the American people willing to pay the price which our commitments demand? Certainly not if we are kept in ignorance of what the price is. Certainly not if we permit our Pacific policy to become the football of domestic politics or to be pushed this way and that by emotional groups with no clear view of our main objectives or of our own limitations.
>
> For example, *we cannot expect European empires to play our game if we make it our business to undermine their hold upon their Far Eastern possessions. We cannot undertake to free India from the British and the East Indies from the Dutch, and expect Englishmen and Dutchmen to co-operate with us in maintaining the balance of power in Asia.*
>
> Similarly we cannot expect Soviet Russia to underwrite a regime in China which makes war upon Chinese Communists, as the Chiang Kai-shek regime has done in the past and threatens to do in the future.
>
> The Pacific peace which follows Japan's defeat will be an extremely uneasy peace, and it can be maintained only by the utmost understanding and patience among all those concerned in it. The American share in that peace will require a high level of statesmanship and the *maintenance of American military and naval power for an indefinite period.*

India a Test Case for World Democracy

Pearl Buck has been elected President of the India League of America. In accepting her election she said :

"I have joined the India League of America because I have been brought to the conviction that *India has become the immediate test case for world democracy* in the eyes of all darker peoples everywhere. At this moment freedom can be declared only in India. Millions in China, South America, North America, in the Isles of Oceans, in Africa and even in Europe are watching to see *if democracy means what it says* and if the four freedoms are true or false. *By what we do about India, democracy will stand or fall.* The League will continue to work for the independence of India, but not primarily from the point of view of Indian nationalism. Its purpose rather is to present India as the test case of Allied war aims and further winning of war in Europe as well as in Asia by proving through liberation of India that the war is being fought for democracy and freedom for all peoples."

Pearl Buck believes that the issue is all the more urgent because it will sustain the morale of Chinese armies and Indian people and will secure wholehearted support for war effort not only from the people of India but also of the people of Korea, Burma, Thailand, Malaya, Indo-China, Dutch East Indies, Philippines and other Pacific Islands.

Russian Tribute to Tagore

The *Tass Agency* has circulated the tribute paid to Rabindranath Tagore on behalf of the people of Russia by a modern Russian writer, Nikolai Tikhonov. It is given below :

> There are names that call up great thoughts and great countries. Rabindranath Tagore's is one of these names. Behind it we have the vision of the vast country stretching from the Himalayan peaks to the Indian Ocean, the country of boundless fields, endless roads and ancient cities.
>
> Amid Russian snows, through the thunder of upheavals in which that new world which we call our country was born, above universal voices that accompanied us in our searches for perfection we heard in an enchanted world the songs and talks in the penetrating voice of that wise singer of life—Rabindranath Tagore. As poet, novelist and dramatist he appeared to the Russian reader to whom he revealed the hitherto-little-known world of the mysterious Indian soul. Of the grandeur of this country with its age-old culture, gifted peoples we had known much, but of her soul, mighty and tender, we learned from books written by her finest son, her singer. I would compare the melodious blossoming of his lines in *Gitanjali* with the splendid entrance to that country. Later we met his *Gardener*, his *Morning Songs* and his lyrical plays.
>
> We read novels *Gora* and *World and Home*; they became familiar to the Russian reader. Several editions of his *Reminiscences* came out here.
>
> Tagore was not alien to human passions, nor aloof from noble love; the philosopher never supplanted the poet nor did the teacher supplant the artist. We know how much he has done for the enlightenment of India and for the protection of her cultural institutions.
>
> One of his schools at Santiniketan stands as memorial to his thought for the future.
>
> Tagore is very close to us for another reason: not confining his search for perfection to his native soil, he studied all that was human and constantly reflected and debated upon it. Peaceful life, creative work and the necessity for complete understanding among nations in the world drew his attention to that family of peoples as remarkable as the Soviet Union. We can but regret that now, when the mortal duel with fascism's dark forces is approaching its end, we are unable to welcome this wise poet in our victorious camp.
>
> Tagore came from that race of giants of thought whose people belong to all progressive mankind. He was for India what Leo Tolstoy was for Russia. We

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have millions of friends in India, but the first of them to say the profound word of his country, a word addressed to the whole world, was Rabindranath Tagore, poet, dramatist, novelist and philosopher.

The efforts made by Russia to acquaint herself with India and her hoary culture are not widely known. During the early part of the nineteenth century, a translation of the Rig Veda was published in Bombay with monetary aid from Russia. Scholars like Minaeff, Vassilieff, Scherbatsky have devoted their lives to the study of Indian culture and civilisation. Towards the close of the past century, a Bengali youth, Nishikanta Chattopadhyaya, held the Chair of Bengali Language at the University of St. Petersburg.

Assam Valley Saved by the Chinese

Drew Pearson writes in the *Washington Merry-Go-Round* :

The part which Chinese troops and the United States air transport command played in blocking the invasion of India can now be told.

At the time the Japs were driving into northern India last spring, several thousand Chinese troops were flown into India and succeeded in stopping the onrushing Japs.

Day after day the British army had been pushed back, until the Japs menaced the Imphal rail line and seemed on the verge of spreading out into northern India. British-Indian troops had been powerless to stop the Jap advance.

(One year before, at Quebec, the advance through Burma had been announced and Lord Louis Mountbatten had been placed in charge. Instead of an advance through Burma, however, the Japs reversed the process).

In this emergency, the United States air transport command loaded several thousand Chinese soldiers into transport planes, and flew them over "The Hump" (the Himalayas, highest mountain range in the world), and dumped them down in northern India.

The Chinese were packed into the planes in such numbers that they practically lay on top of each other. Flying over 20,000 feet over the Himalayas they were without oxygen tanks. Unloaded in India many were dragged from the plane unconscious, laid out on the ground, and had to be revived.

However, given food and a week's rest, they bucked up and made tough jungle fighters. Thus the Japs were stopped and the Assam valley was saved.

Two facts stand out as a result of this hitherto untold chapter in the war. One was the amazing performance of the air transport command, which flew in all kinds of weather over the most difficult terrain in the world. They took Gen. Chennault's gasoline and flew it in reverse, not to aid China, but to aid India.

The other was the example of what the Chinese troops could do in a pinch and what they might be ble to do against Japan in North China if properly equipped and led.

Early in the war, before the Japs took Burma and Singapore, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek formally offered Chinese troops to Prime Minister Churchill to fight in India or any other place in the Orient. The offer was refused.

Speed of Supply Depends on Will

The following news item deserves special attention:

New Delhi, Sept. 11.—Five thousand tons of vital war materials per month have been sent from India to Russia during the past 6 months along the East Persian route, which follows the age-old caravan tracks now converted into a modern motor highway.

Russia has received quantities of gunny bags, tossa canvas, jute ropes, tea, pepper, tin, wolfram and ilk. Two special consignments were 1,000 tons of nickel and 1,000 tons of harvest yarn, both of which reached Russia in record time. The harvest yarn was made to a very exacting specification by the Calcutta jute mills. It had to be there before the Russian harvest and the average timing from Calcutta to the handing-over point was 28 days.

An interesting feature of the tin, mercury, wolfram and silk commodities is that they are flown from China to Assam in American aircraft, and railed to Zahidan for transport by truck. Hundreds of lorries have been used to get the consignments to our Allies in the north, and the road surface from Zahidan right up to the Russian border has been kept in excellent repair.—*A. P. I.*

But during the last famine in Bengal, foodstuffs could not be procured and supplies brought in excepting at a snail's pace.

British Public Opinion on Indian Deadlock

The London correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* reports that the *News Chronicle* recently ascertained by Gallup-poll the views of the British public on the desirability of discussions between the Government and Indian leaders with a view to find out a solution of the present deadlock. The question put to vote was: "Concerning the Indian situation, do you think that the British Government should take steps to re-open negotiations with Indian leaders?" 52 per cent. replied "yes", 15 per cent said "no" and 35 per cent. said "Do not know." The *News Chronicle* says that this is a considerable shift of opinion favouring re-opening of negotiations. When the replies from men were counted separately, it was found that no fewer than 63 per cent. favoured re-opening of negotiations. Only 15 per cent. opposed.

Colour Bar in the Commonwealth

The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastry, in reply to the call of the South African Congress requesting him to proceed to that country, said:

"To suggest a remedy is out of the question. It is an irony that the close of the war meant to establish freedom on a firm basis, should be attended with ominous signs of a recrudescence of colour prejudice within the Commonwealth. *Australia's 'White Policy' has been re-affirmed*, and the Britishers of Natal think this a suitable time for exhibiting anti-Indian feelings."

There are people who believe that in the coming Peace Conference the colour bar threat will be finally destroyed and that an era of human brotherhood will begin. But such optimism is not justified in the present circumstances. At least two of the three big Allies have not yet been able to free themselves from colour prejudice.

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Secret U. S. A. Mission to China

United Press of America reports from Washington that the Chairman of the War Production Board, Mr. Donald Nelson, now on a secret White House Mission to China, is believed to be laying the ground work for post-war industrialisation of China which would strip Japan of foreign markets and provide the United States with huge orders for heavy machinery. Mr. Roosevelt is said to be sending Mr. Nelson as his personal emissary to Marshal Chiang Kai-shek to discuss economic problems but the nature of these problems is not disclosed. Mr. Nelson has himself said:

"It is becoming ever more clearer that the best method whereby we can promote sustained healthy expansion of foreign trade is to aid undeveloped regions to build sound industries of their own. We have learned that when we help other peoples to build healthy industries we make them better customers for America."

Mr. Nelson, some months ago, had expounded the theory that the United States must help others to build up healthy industries to avoid serious global post-war depression. Washington believes that industrialised China with cheap labour as that of Japan could move in Japan's foreign markets simultaneously to raise China's standard of living.

Irishmen's Deep Distrust for Britain

Mr. Robert C. Miller, staff correspondent of the *United Press of America* cables from London:

"Most Irishmen are completely apathetic to the present war, while a few are outright scornful of the Allied cause, I learned during a recent impromptu stay in Eire.

"I talked with farmers, housewives, fishermen and local dignitories with a view to grasping the Irish point of view towards the war.

"One old farmer, standing before his thatched roof house puffing philosophically on his pipe, summed it up for me in one sentence: "If it were a good fight, the Irish would be in it." And no amount of logic or ersuasion could convince the Irish I talked with that the present war is a "good fight."

"The underlying reason for this, they admitted, is their deep-seated distrust of Britain and Britain's foreign policy. The Irish, regardless of wealth or station, are far more politics-minded than the average American, and to a man they have convinced themselves that Ireland never has received a square deal from the British and never will.

"The British tell us", argued a pert, red-haired salesgirl, "that the United Nations are fighting for the little countries. But what about Ireland? Weren't we a little country and did Britain fight for us- They did not. *On the contrary they fought us.*"

Although India is not a small country, sentiment here as well is almost similar.

Two Powerful Minorities in the Offing ?

The *United Press* cables from London that the British Press does not seem to have taken much interest in the news from India about Gandhi-Jinnah meeting. Out of ten Sunday newspapers, only four, namely, *Observer, Sunday Times, Sunday Chronicle*, all conservatives, and the *Reynold's News*, socialist, have published scrappy News Agency message not giving more than eighty words only about this meeting. Neither was there any comment by any of the British papers.

London political circles, however, are reported to have been keenly watching all developments in India and refuse to make any comment on the Bombay talks at this stage. Mr. Reginald Sorensen, Prof. Harold Laski, Mr. Lawrence Housman and other socialist friends of India are also anxiously awaiting fuller news.

The *U. P.* correspondent reports that the general trend of feeling in London appears to be one of pessimism about the result of Gandhi-Jinnah talks. Those who entertain this pessimistic feeling point out that even if Gandhiji is able to win over Mr. Jinnah and his Moslems, he will have to prepare himself to face two powerful minorities which are being carefully nursed at present by interested parties and encouraged to put forward special claims of their own. A friend of India, who is a keen student of Indian affairs, and knows India Office very well, told the *U. P.* correspondent:

"I know that India's fighting men will soon constitute themselves into a powerful minority who may directly oppose Congress-League demand for complete independence. I have a feeling that they *will be encouraged to repudiate any settlement arrived at between Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah.*

"The *untouchables are expected to make common cause with the Sikhs* who are known to be hostile to the present talks."

No Paper Shortage for Official Propaganda and Pornography—Haldane

At a recent meeting of the P. E. N. in London, Prof. J. B. S. Haldane said that the present lack of paper was having an effect on the output of literature, almost as serious as censorship. It was extraordinarily difficult to get paper for anything but official propaganda and second-rate pornography.

Notice

On account of the Durga Puja Holidays the Modern Review Office and Prabasi Press will remain closed from the 23rd September to the 6th October, 1944, both days included. All business accumulating during this period will be transacted after the holidays.

Kedar Nath Chatterji
Editor

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THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

GERMANY is now trying to weather the storm behind the first and main line of defences of Hitler's Reich. The United Nations have achieved much during the last few weeks, mainly through diplomacy. The cracking-up of Rumania, the third biggest Axis partner in Europe, was the first major triumph of the Allied Powers in this year. Rumania's capitulation seems to have caught the Nazi High Command unawares as the collapse of the defence lines in the extreme south of the Russian front seems to have compelled the Germans to give up all ideas of holding on to the soil of France. Probably the reserves ear-marked for France had to be drawn upon heavily in order to buttress the defences on the frontiers of Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia and further the German High Command had to make hurried preparations against a major breach in the Reich's defences in the south-east through which the dreaded avenging forces of the Soviets might pour in and complete the disaster. Further defections from the Nazi ranks had to be provided for—and they followed in logical sequence, Bulgaria first and then Finland—and all these considerations were probably the reason why the Germans suddenly decided upon a retreat to the defences of the Maginot and Siegfried lines. Minor engagements took place on the soil of France and there are still some activities in the eastern and south-eastern regions but they are in main parts of the retreat plans. And thus the liberation of France took place with dramatic suddenness and almost without a single major engagement on the continental scale being fought after the battles in Normandy were over.

The Siegfried lines extend for a distance of about 400 miles, from the Swiss frontier to the coast line of north-west Germany and are over 30 miles in depth in many places. In a characteristic speech, delivered in 1939, Hitler described these defences as being totally impregnable and boasted that no concievable outside power could force a breach in them. Since that speech these defences were further added to and besides for the major part of its entire length—up to Luxembourg frontier to be exact—the Maginot lines form a powerful chain of outer defences. There is no doubt that these immense defences in depth, consisting of over 17,000 forts arranged in several series and interconnected by a maze of hidden roads and underground passages, form a formidable barrier against invasion forces. Whether they are insurmountable or not is a different question altogether now, since the titanic progress made in the development of aerial bombardment tactics. But there can be no doubt that the Allied Supreme Command now will have to face the greatest problem as yet put before it in order to prevent the Second front degenerating into the conditions of positional warfare similar—but on a far larger scale—to what obtained in France during the last two years and a half of the first World War. Positional warfare will give the hard-pressed Germans some respite and further the struggle instead of rising to a terrific crescendo coming sharply to a close by the total collapse of Nazidom, might meander into a long-drawn war of attrition. This latter state of affairs must be prevented at all costs by the Allied Supreme Command, as the consequences of a long-drawn struggle in Europe, from now onwards, would be serious indeed in Asia and might even be disastrous. Mr. Churchill's prediction that the war in Europe will be over by the end of October of this year, might have been just another hopeful augury similar to some other prophecies made by him before, but it did carry in it an indication that there were time-factors and limits in this war which the Allies cannot violate with impunity.

The use of paratroops on a large scale in Holland indicates that the Allied Command is determined to force issues at all costs. Paratroops are highly specialized combat units, drawn from the cream of the land forces and trained along extremely complex lines which call for not only the maximum of physical fitness but also for leadership, individual grasp of fighting tactics and a capacity for making instantaneous decisions—or initiative—to a degree uncommon in the other branches of the fighting forces. Modern methods of aerial warfare together with the latest developments in glider technique have converted these fighting units into long range engines of destruction—engines with highly trained individual brains—that can be projected across all barriers and over long distances. Needless to say, such units are very valuable because of their selection, training and limited supply and therefore the use of paratroops *en masse* indicates the determination of the Allied command to liquidate the stiff and stubborn resistance that has reduced the Allied advance to a very slow pace. The latest reports at the time of writing (20-9-'44) indicate that some degree of success has been attained by this manoeuvre but no estimate can be made as yet regarding its extent. There are reports in the newspapers regarding the penetration of the Siegfried lines at five points, but again there is no indication as to the depth of this penetration. On the whole the position, as far as it can be gauged by the latest reports, is that General Eisenhower is stepping up his assault as fast as he can on the main German defences in the Low Countries

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and in Holland, and elsewhere the forces under his command are engaged in the preliminaries. The Germans on their side are straining every nerve in an attempt at stabilization. They have even gone so far as to leave large forces in all the major ports of France in order to deny transport facilities to the Allied forces for as long a period as possible.

On the Eastern European Front the position is complex. In Finland the Germans seem to have made up their mind to stage a resistance on the lines of the Italian front unaided by—even in opposition to—the Finns. The vast nickel deposits of Petsamo are said to be the main reason for this extraordinary decision on the part of the Nazi High Command, and no doubt the iron-ore and special steel supply from Sweden, which would dwindle to nothing as the Soviets' forces approached the Swedish frontiers, and the back-door entrance to Scandinavia through Norway are also factors for consideration. But all these seem to indicate that Hitler's Council is taking a long-term view of the war situation, just as if no extreme emergency has loomed across the horizon. In the Baltic States great battles are in progress in which the Soviets have flung in as many as 40 divisions and more—according to German reports—besides large masses of tanks and mobile artillery. The Russians have made some definite progress but no clear decision seems to be indicated as yet. Near Warsaw the Soviets' forces have captured Praga after a long and bitter struggle and a violent and swaying battle is in progress to the north-east of Warsaw. Further south the fires of battle seem to be smouldering.

But the really puzzling situation is in the Balkans. When the Rumanian defences tumbled down like the walls of Jericho it was expected that the great Russian armies of the south would flow surging in like a flood and after sweeping the unprepared Germans before it would strike at the Hungarian defences with the momentum of a tidal wave, carrying all before it. It was expected that not only all the Balkans but Hungary and parts of Czecho-Slovakia would be submerged in the maelstrom and that the German defences in the East would start not merely tottering and trembling but cracking wide open in great fissures all along the line. Contrary to all expectations the heaviest Russian blows are being delivered elsewhere, while the Hungarian and Czecho-Slovakian defences are gaining some measure of stability. And while parts of the Russian forces are carefully probing the defences of the Carpathians and the Hungarian frontiers others are thrusting deep southwards on to the Aegian Sea. Of course, one has to look at the German defences as one composite picture but even then it is not very easy to explain the apparent continuance of rigidity in the German defences.

Summed up, the situation in Europe does not justify, up to the present, any hopes of a collapse of German resistance within the next few weeks, *unless the Wehrmachts plans are disrupted from within,* either by the cracking of the civilian morale or through widespread sabotage and revolt from the underground forces. The civilian population has so far taken the terrific aerial bombardment without breaking down but of course the strain is increasing as the Allied assault on the defences mounts to a peak. What the underground can achieve is known to their leaders alone.

In the Pacific Admiral Nimitz has again struck with great force, and this time the assault is practically on the last step before the Philippines. The amphibious and aerial forces of the U.S.A. have not slackened their efforts in the least since this island to island hop, step and jump campaign was taken over by the U. S. A. Navy. We have heard the repercussions of this campaign in the speeches made in the last meeting of the Japanese Diet, wherein the Japanese Premier and the Chief of the Japanese Navy gave the people of Japan the bare stark truth about the mounting intensity of the U. S. A. campaign. The U. S. A. authorities also have tried to impress on the public that the Pacific war was now entering a far more intense and critical stage and that the enemy was not at all giving up; indeed on the contrary. It was further stressed that the immense superiority in the air that has been enjoyed so far was now meeting with a growing challenge and that there were distinct signs that Japan was making a powerful bid for parity in the air. Practically all the successes gained by the Allied arms, in Asia, in the Pacific and on the Western Front in Europe, were in the main due to this absolute supremacy in the air, and it is in this field that Germany and Japan have as yet failed to find an answer to the problems set by the Allies, and all their failures are the direct consequences thereof. Needless to say, therefore, this Japanese attempt at regaining parity should be viewed with all seriousness.

In China the news are not very reassuring as yet. The Japanese triple offensive is still on the move and it has made some progress in two areas. But on the Sino-Burmese frontier the Chinese have improved their position and it is to be hoped that in the near future, when the monsoons are over, General Stilwell's forces would be augmented and refitted for intiating a major drive for the Burma Road. For in the present China offensive the Japanese have very nearly offset the Allied gains in the Pacific.

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THE RAJAGOPALACHARI FORMULA AND THE CONGRESS

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By PROF. D. N. BANERJEE,

Head of the Department of Political Science, University of Dacca

EVER since the publication of the mischievous, communal formula of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, a set of people as well as some newspapers have been carrying on a misleading propaganda that the formula is quite in consonance with the creed and policy of the Indian National Congress. Evidently, the object of this propaganda is to exploit our national sentiments towards the Congress for the purpose of ensuring public support to the formula. Even those who ought to know better and from whom the country expects a correct lead, have either intentionally or unintentionally, been a party to this propaganda. As will appear from what follows, the formula is definitely against the declared object and policy of the Congress.

Article 1 of the Constitution of the Congress as amended in 1939, says :

"The object of the Indian National Congress is the *attainment by the people of India of Purna Swaraj* (Complete Independence) by all legitimate and peaceful means."

This object undoubtedly envisages the attainment of independence by the people of India as a whole, as a single political entity, and not by the people of *a truncated* India; nor, again, by the *peoples* of India partitioned or divided into a number of "sovereign" and independent fragments, or broken at a number of points by a chain of "Ulsters." No amount of casuistry or sophistry or mystification on the part of anybody, however great, can make the object imply anything else.

Now it may be, and has actually been, argued that whatever might have been the object of the Congress, its Working Committee declared in the course of its resolution, published at New Delhi on 11th April, 1942 :

"The Committee cannot think in terms of compelling the people in any territorial unit to remain in any Indian Union against their declared and established will."

Even if we assume, for the sake of argument, that this resolution of the Working Committee was consistent with the object of the Congress—which I doubt very much—, and that it countenanced in certain circumstances partition, or separation, or secession, it does not mean anything. The reason is that the effect of this resolution has been completely neutralized and nullified by the action subsequently taken by the A. I. C. C. (All-India Congress Committee). Here, I should like to refer, before I proceed further, to a constitutional point. Under Article XX of the Constitution of the Congress, the Working Committee consists of fifteen members including the President of the Congress and a Treasurer. Of these fifteen members, thirteen are appointed by the President from among the members of the A.I.C.C. Besides, the Working Committee is the "executive authority," and as such is empowered to carry into effect the policy and programme laid down by the A.I.C.C. and the Congress. It has certainly no power to act against that policy and programme. Moreover, it is "responsible" to both the A. I. C. C. and the Congress, and is required to place before every meeting of the A. I. C. C. the reports of its proceedings. Speaking constitutionally, the cumulative effect of all these, and particularly the use of the expression "responsible" in this context, is that the Working Committee is subordinate to the A. I. C. C. which can undo what the former has done. It is in a sense a Committee of the A. I. C. C., and an agent of the latter. As its master and official superior, the A.I.C.C. may, therefore, with unquestionable constitutionality, set aside or repudiate any action or decision taken by the Working Committee.

Now, notwithstanding the New Delhi resolution of the Working Committee to which I have referred above, on 2nd May, 1942, during its Allahabad session, the A. I. C. C. rejected, by 120 votes against 15, a resolution of Mr. Rajagopalachari conceding the claim of the Muslim League to separation, but adopted the following counter-resolution of Mr. Jagatnarain Lal by 92 votes against 17 :

"The A. I. C. C. is of opinion that any proposal to disintegrate India by giving liberty to any component State or territorial unit to secede from the Indian Union or Federation will be highly detrimental to the best interests of the people of the different States and Provinces and the country as a whole and the Congress, therefore, cannot agree to any such proposal."

Again, on the 8th August, 1942, the A.I.C.C. adopted, in its Bombay session, a resolution which is now well-known, and which contained, among other things, a declaration which definitely envisaged a federal form of government, more or less on the American lines for the whole of India, with the maximum of autonomy for the constituent units and residuary powers vesting in them. It did not at all countenance any partitioning of India.

It is clear from what I have shown above that the resolution of the Congress Working Committee adopted at New Delhi early in April, in 1942, has been completely neutralized and nullified by the resolutions of the A. I. C. C. subsequently adopted by the latter in its Allahabad and Bombay sessions. In view of all this, it is not correct to state that the Rajagopalachari formula is consistent with the object and policy of the Congress. Indeed, it is not only *anti-national*, but also *anti-Congress*: It is a *negation*, nay, a *betrayal, of the ideal* which the Congress has placed before itself during the last sixty years of its existence.

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THE ORIGIN OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

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Bengal's Contribution To It

By Professor N. KAVIRAJ, M.A.

A feeling of unity based on the community of interests is the essential pre-condition for the development of a normal political life in every large country. About the early decades of the 19th century, the psychology of a common subjection to foreign rule re-inforced by an intellectual awakening and a political training on more up-to-date lines under the influence of the West, sought to eradicate the obstacles to political union, based on castes and creeds, sects and communities, and races and nationalities, and tended to unite the people of India on a common platform with a more or less common programme to redress some common grievances. A sympathy amongst the hitherto unsympathising castes, a harmony amongst the conflicting claims of communities, a unity in spite of the diversity of interests were the result of a composite movement arising simultaneously out of the changing productions-relations due to the influx of foreign capital, deterioration of our textile industries and the increasing poverty of our peasantry,—no less the result of lessons on national resistance that an alien bureaucracy had unwillingly taught us by raising a race of educated middle class on the Western literature of revolt.* Through a series of repressive legislations which were the basis of the bureaucracy in India, the unity movement gathered its own strength, for every repressive act gave an occasion for a widespread movement for its repeal and through these movements which followed one on the heel of another, India achieved her political unity. Napoleon by his conquests aroused the Italian bourgeoisie from their political somnolence, so did the English in India by their nefarious activities.

The Indian National Congress was the embodiment of this political consciousness of the nationalist middle class. But the full-fledged middle-class nationalist consciousness which was revealed in the Congress could not but be the result of a slow and lengthy process which dated from the days of Rammohun, which thrived indifferently under the different *sabhas* and associations and finally culminated in an all-India nationalist movement under the First and Second National Conferences and the Congress.

That the initiative of Allan Octavian Hume was chiefly responsible for the inception of the Congress movement, nobody would deny, but this need not blind us to the fact that his initiative would never have come, had there not been the symptoms of a similar movement already in Bengal. He addressed to the graduates of the Calcutta University† because he knew that some of them had already been politically conscious of their national task and would be too ready to respond to his call. With educated Indians, the difficulty was enormous; the basis of the Indian government was so narrow and its officials were so prejudiced against Indian aspirations, that any constitutional organisation resembling anything like an Indian Parliament, founded exclusively by educated Indians, some of whom had bitter experiences with the Government, might very well be derided as a seditious movement out to destroy British rule; hence Hume's unique position as an Anglo-Indian, having connections with the Indian administration as well as with the Liberal Party of Great Britain, helped considerably in the organisation of a constitutional movement like that of the Congress.

The Congress could not be an accident, nor could it be the figment of the imagination of an Anglo-Indian. The idea was already there; in Bengal the idea had been born, bred and nurtured through half a century's endless endeavours. As early as 1823, Raja Rammohun Roy who had the foresight to see that the British rule could not be easily overthrown, wanted to take the fullest advantage of the lessons in Western civilisation and the democratic potentialities of the British constitution.‡ A free press, a free trial, and a rational education were the key to the political education of the middle class, and as this education progressed, the organisation of our public life became more and more complete. By the fifties of the last century the nucleus of a public life had already been formed. Those landlords of Calcutta who had earned the benefit of English education and were yet conscious of the hateful tyranny of an alien rule, had succeeded by the year 1851 in organising a public press, a public education, and, what is more, a public platform. The work of Raja Rammohun Roy and his school,—the activities of Prosonno Coomer Tagore, Dwarkanath Tagore, Raja Radhakanta Deb, Ramgopal Ghose, Peary Chand Mitra and Keshub Chandra Sen—had already prepared the ground for a public life in Bengal.

* For effects of British rule on India and their influence on our changing productions-relations, see *Marx anl Engels on India*, also Dr. Shelvanker : *The Problem of India*, and John Beauchamp : *British Imperialism in India*.

† Hume's Letter to the Graduates of the Calcutta University, dated March 1, 1883.

‡ In an autobiographical sketch, Raja Rammohun Roy admits that during his earlier years, he was prejudiced against the establishment of British power in India, but later from his experience with many Europeans he became convinced of its ameliorative as well as of beneficial aspects, see *The English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy*, published by the Panini Office, Allahabad, 1906, pp. 223-25.

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The echoes of Bengal activity could not be confined within the four walls of the province. Bombay, another chief centre of British oligarchy and English education, began her public life in the middle of the 19th century with an advantage of the earlier experiences of Bengal. Those farsighted citizens who were responsible for the opening up of a public life in Bombay were Naoroji Furdunji, Dadabhai Naoroji, and Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy. In 1851 the British Indian Association and the Bombay Association were founded in Calcutta and Bombay respectively. While the Calcutta Association continued to dominate the public life of Bengal for more than two decades, the Bombay Association lived indifferently, to be supplanted at last by a Bombay Branch of the East India Association about the year 1869, which too, "having no independent existence, was unable adequately to voice the popular sentiment and to defend the rights of the people."† Poona had also organised her public life about the same time and the Poona Sarbajanik Sabha was almost as old as the Bombay Association. In a word, by the fifties and sixties of the last century, the educated middle class, at the principal centres of British rule, had been conscious of their political rights as well as of their political role, although in degree Bengal had far outstripped her Western and Southern neighbours.

The basis of this public life was, however, narrow and confined within the limits of the Presidency towns. The only people who were conscious of the part that they had to play were some rich but enlightened landlords. By the latter half of the sixties and seventies of the last century, our political life became broader when a more conscious and vocal section of the middle class, mostly, Barristers, Professors and Judges hailing from rich families, with intellectual experience earned from abroad and sympathies more broad-based, came to take the field in politics. With the advent of Surendranath Banerjea, A. M. Bose, Pherozshah Mehta, W. C. Bonnerjee, Telang, Sankaran Nair, Ananda Charlu and others, who were mostly trained on the same political literature, and were under the spell of Mazzini's slogan of national unity, the Indian middle class in different presidencies discovered that their interests were identical. The identity of the interests of the middle class in the different provinces brought them closer to one another and roused a national consciousness that was yet unknown in Indian politics. This period witnessed the rise of a new class of more representative associations in the Indian Association of Surendranath Banerjea and A. M. Bose in Bengal, the Bombay Presidency Association of Telang and Pherozshah in Bombay, and the Mahajana Sabha in Madras. Another important feature of this period was the close co-operation of the three presidencies on those vital problems which were associated with the repressive legislations of the Government of India, and this is most evident from the lot of correspondence* which took place between the leaders of different provinces on some important occasions.

It was in Bengal that the national spirit for the first time revealed itself. It was again in Bengal that the need of a national or an all-India organisation was for the first time felt. The national spirit in Bengal may be traced to the year 1861 when Rajnarain Bose appealed to the national sentiment of the Bengalees. The same sentiment in its various aspects may be discerned in the writings and speeches of Nabagopal Mitra, Bhudev Mukhopadhyay, W. C. Bonnerjee, Surendranath Banerjea, Jogendranath Vidyabhushan, Lalmohan Ghose, Sisir Kumar Ghose, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, and Bholanath Chandra. Unlike in Bengal, the national sentiment in Bombay had not manifested in its literature and sociology, it worked purely as a political force. The most active manifestation of this spirit was the East India Association in England of which the leading spirit was Dadabhai Naoroji. The Association brought the rising spirits in Bengal and Bombay closer, but it was not destined to play the role of a national organisation, for its roots were not in the Indian soil nor was it an adjunct of an all-India national organisation. Unlike those who were eager to draw the sympathy of the Liberal Party in London, the Bengal leaders headed by Surendranath Banerjea wanted to activise the national consciousness of the Indians by an all-India organisation on the Indian soil. As early as 1875, Surendranath joined the newly founded Students' Association of Bengal with an object of broadening the basis of our political life. The concern for the development of a national consciousness reached a more definite stage when the Indian Association was established on July, 26, 1876. As the founder himself put it, it was to be the "centre of an all-India organisation," and the comprehensive ideology that it set before itself is a sufficient testimony to its concern for an all-India movement. Really Surendranath was the first to explore the possibilities of an all-India movement. In 1877 he made his first political tour over the Panjab and North-Western Provinces, he toured over Bombay and Madras to enlighten the people on the re-actionary policy followed by Lord Salisbury with regard to the Indian Civil Service question. Sir Henry Cotton refers to the successes of these Upper India

† H. P. Mody : *Sir Pherozshah Mehta, a Political Biography*—Vol. I, Ch. IV, p. 19.

* H. P. Mody : *Sir Pherozshah Mehta—a Political Biography*—Vol. I, ch. viii, pp. 137-38.

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tours of Surendranath in his book *New India*. In the words of Surendranath himself,

"The true aim and purpose of the Civil Service agitation was the awakening of a spirit of unity and solidarity among the people of India."

Pausing to consider the net results of his tour, he concluded that

"for the first time under British rule, India, with its varied races and religions, had been brought upon the same platform for a common and united effort."*

The national consciousness that was thus aroused gathered further strength from the Vernacular Press Act agitation and the Ilbert Bill controversy which evoked popular protest not only in Calcutta, but also in Bombay and other presidencies. Over the Ilbert Bill agitation, the leaders of Bengal organised a political conference known as the First National Conference at the Albert Hall in Calcutta in December, 1883. In this meeting in his opening address, (Amvika Ch. Majumdar in his *Indian National Evolution* tells us,) Surendranath is said to have suggested the necessity of an all-India political organisation. The same author quotes from Mrs. Besant's book *How India Wrought for Freedom* a statement that in December, 1884, there came a number of delegates from different parts of the country at the annual convention of the Theosophical Society at Adyar. After the convention was over, 17 prominent Indians met in the house of Dewan Bahadur Raghunath Rao in Madras. These 17 'good men and true' met and discussed various problems affecting the interest of the country and probably supported the idea of a national movement started at the Calcutta Conference of 1883. Mr. Majumdar further remarks that towards the close of 1884 when the Indian National Union was formed,

"a lot of correspondence passed between Calcutta and Bombay, though it is difficult now to trace them accurately with the exception of one addressed by Mr. Telang to Mr. Surendranath Banerjea enquiring about matters connected with the National Conference of 1883."

In 1885 a Second National Conference was convened by the three leading Associations of Calcutta, the British Indian Association, the Indian Association and the Central Muhammedan Association and to which came representatives from Bombay, Bihar, Assam, Allahabad, Benares and Meerut. Simultaneously the First Indian National Congress met in Bombay and a message was despatched from the conference welcoming the birth of the long expected National Assembly.

"Both the Conference and the Congress were thus the simultaneous offshoots of the same movement; but the Bengal leaders wisely and patriotically merged the movement in that of the one inaugurated at Bombay as it had no necessity for separate existence except to the detriment of the other or possibly of both. Moreover, "the programme of the Conference was practically the same as that of the first Congress."*

Thus the authorship of the idea of the Congress and especially that of its political programme must be shared by Hume with Surendranath Banerjea of Bengal and Dadabhai Naoroji of Bombay. Although Surendranath cannot lay a claim to be the founder of the Indian National Congress, he can at least lay claim to have first suggested the idea of an all-India organisation, however vaguely, at the First National Conference in Calcutta as early as 1883 and to have organised a representative national gathering at the Second National Conference in 1885, simultaneously with Congress. Perhaps Sir N. G. Chandravarkar made a confession of this feeling when he said:

"If a father be found out for the Congress, let us not hesitate to admit that Surendranath is the grand-father, he is the father of our political consciousness."†

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* Surendranath Banerjea: *A Nation in the Making*, ch. v, pp. 41-51.

* A. C. Majumdar: *Indian National Evolution*, chapters vii and viii.

† Surendranath's claim to have first suggested the idea of an all-India organisation has been carefully considered in Joges Ch. Bose's *Surendranath Banerjea* (a snapshot), pp. 51-53. Even H. P. Mody in his biography of Pherozshah Mehta admits the priority claims of the Bengal school. He admits that "previous to this, (the formation of the National Union of Hume) the three leading Associations of Calcutta had practically carried out the object in view."—See Mody: *Pherozshah Mehta, a Political Biography*, Vol. I, pp. 180-181. It may be interesting to note in this connection the remarks of the author of an important pamphlet under the title "The Congress and the National Movement: (From a Bengal Standpoint) written under the direction of the Reception Committee of 43rd Session of the Indian National Congress, 1928, discussing the role of Surendranath in the evolution of an all-India organisation, the author remarks: "The National Conference was the precursor of the Indian National Congress and ultimately merged itself in that body. While the Second National Conference was being held at Calcutta, the Indian National Congress was being ushered into existence at Bombay. It is somewhat difficult to-day to understand clearly how it happened, how in the year 1885 there were two national assemblies in session, but it is possible to guess at some of the reasons. The National Conference of Calcutta was entirely a spontaneous popular movement led by the irrepressible Surendranath and his colleagues. Surendranath was, in those days, the enfant terrible of Indian politics. He was a dismissed civilian, a professional demagogue and a released convict. He was a follower of Mazzini and an ardent advocate of democracy. The older leaders considered him irresponsible. Government looked askance at him. At its inception the National Congress, we know, was intimately connected with the Theosophical Society which, though undeservedly, brought on itself, to some extent, the suspicion of Government. Mr. Hume and the other Theosophical leaders naturally did not want to incur further displeasure of Government by giving Surendranath a prominent place in the new organisation." pp. 17-18.

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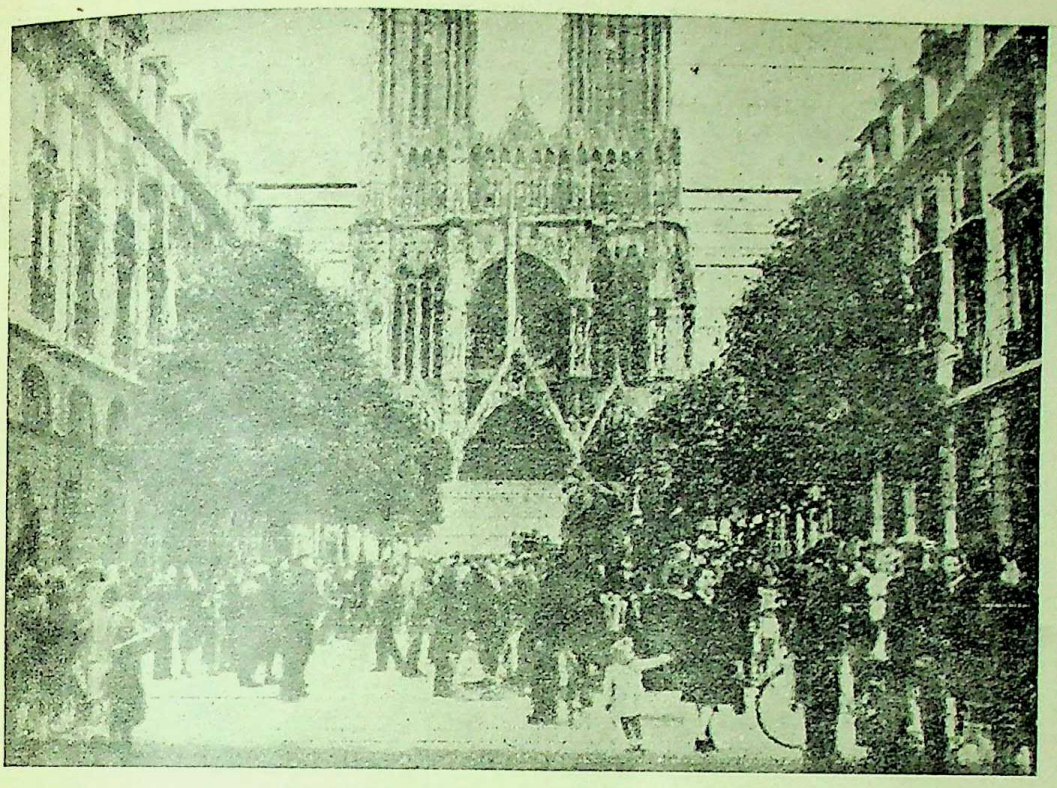
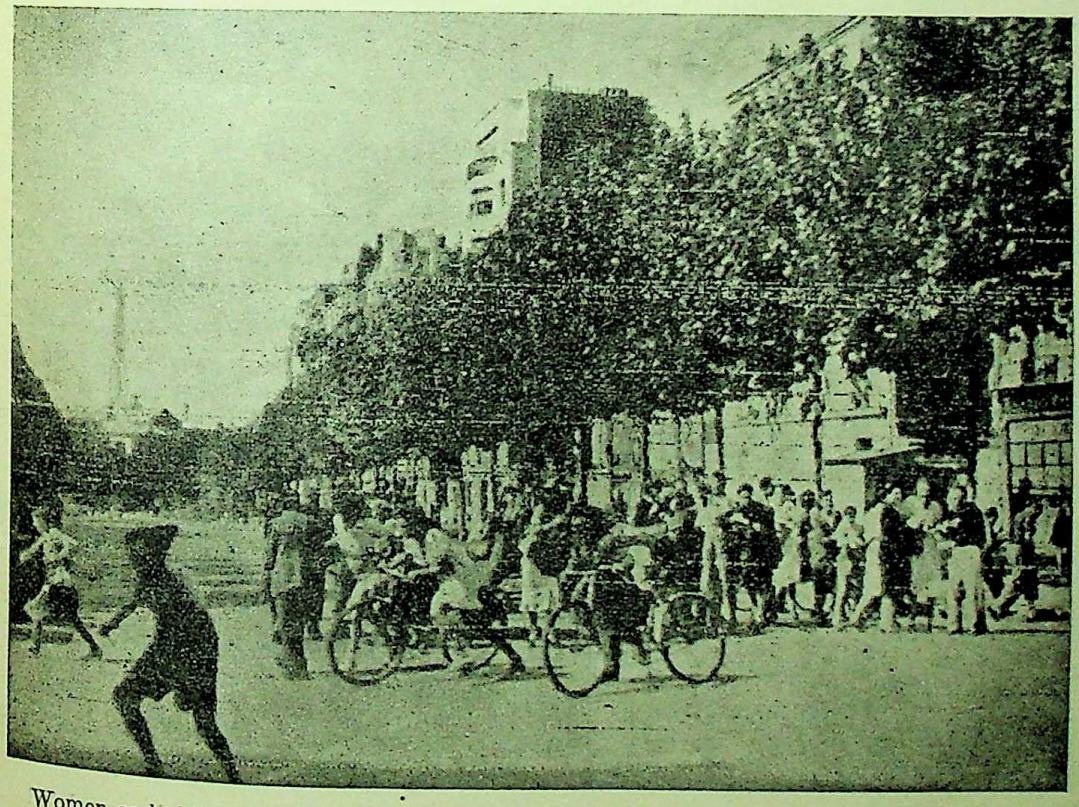


Rheims residents throng in front of the city's famous cathedral, as they welcome U. S. troops who liberated the city.



Women and children scatter for cover as a Nazi sniper opens fire during liberation of Paris.
Courtesy: USOWI

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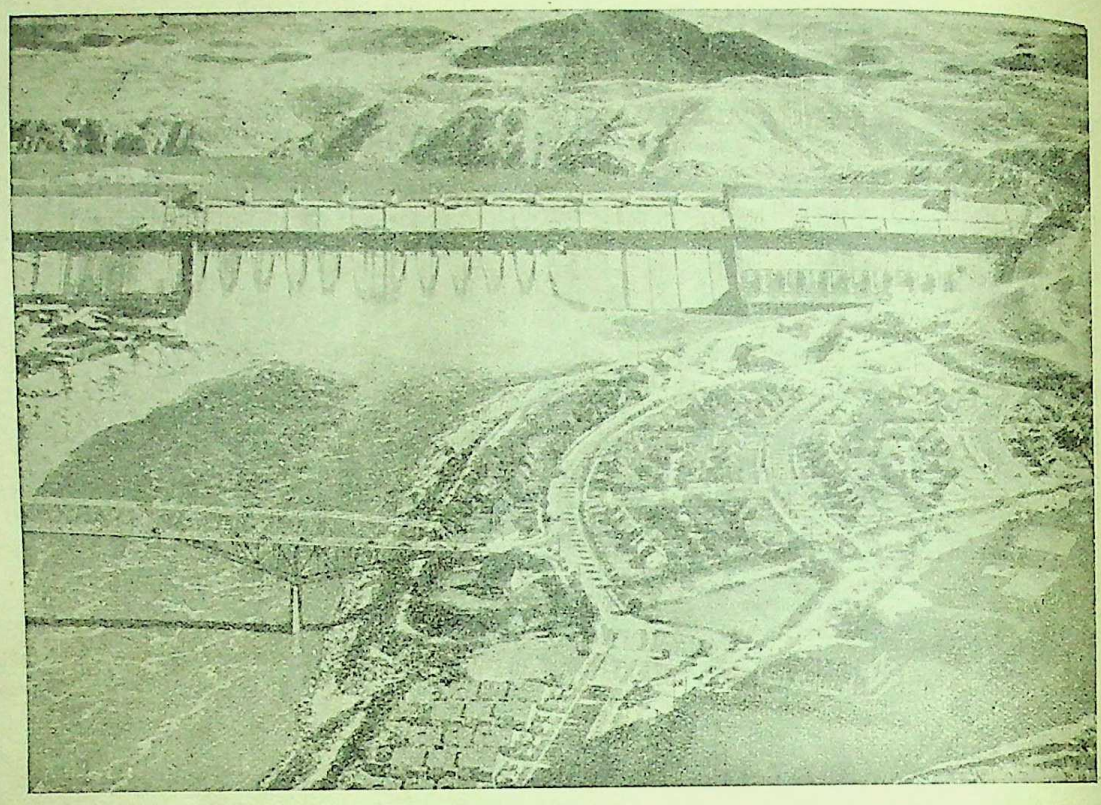
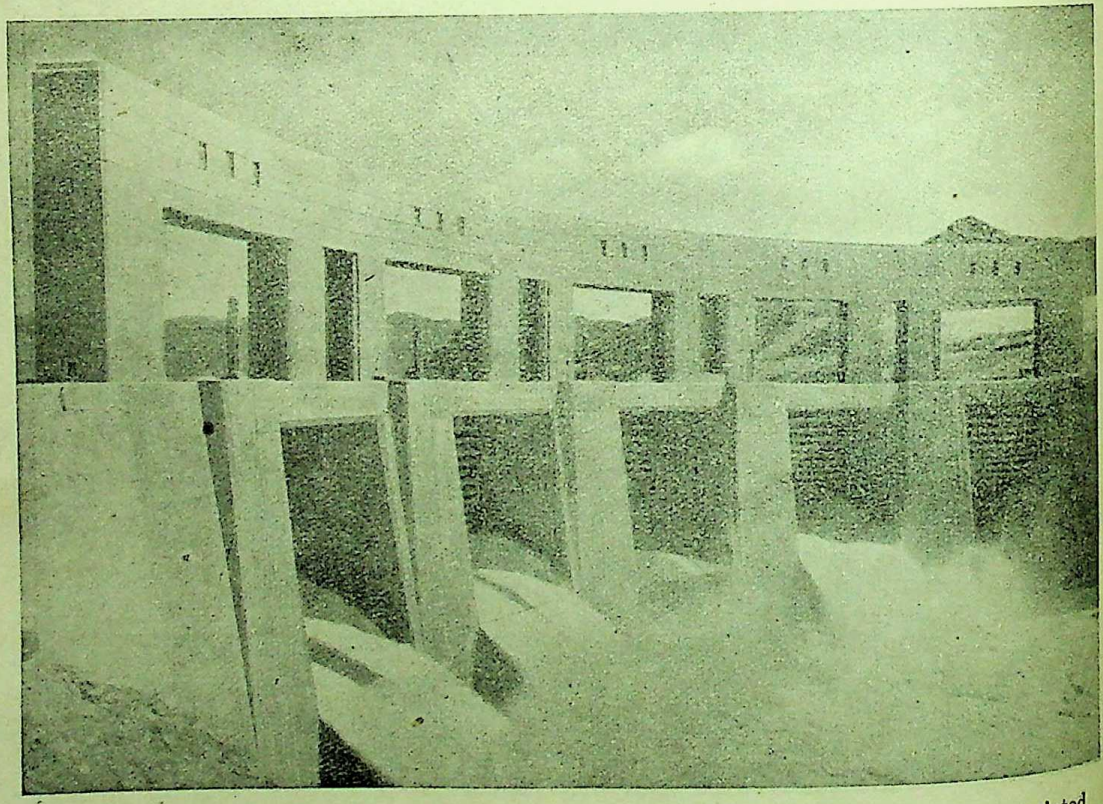


The big dam under construction in the Western U. S. will turn desert wastes into rich fields and supply electricity to neighbouring towns.



Water from the Colorado River rushes through the sluice gates of this recently completed dam in the Western U. S. to irrigate the thirsty land and to supply the neighbouring cities with power. *Courtesy:* USOWI.

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AMERICA'S PROBLEM OF WOMEN WAR WORKERS

Recent reports by U. S. Government agencies show that women now hold one out of every three war jobs. And they are not easy jobs.

Not so long ago employers in hundreds of different industries in that country were reluctant to hire women for heavy-duty occupation. Any work in industry, in fact—even in light jobs—was considered "unsuitable" for women. But the need for record-breaking quantities of war materials took precedence over tradition, and women soon were permitted to undertake all kinds of "unsuitable" occupations.

It is true that many heavy jobs were broken down into several light and simple steps, and that mechanical improvements made it possible for women of slight stature to perform tasks once handled only by strong men. But the most remarkable change in the American labour scene was the admission of women into exclusively male-operated industries.

To-day there is no major industry in the United States which bars women. That does not mean women are doing heavy work in all the industries which traditionally employed only men. Ten thousand women, for example, are employed in coal mining now, but all of them in above-ground operations.

Women In Shipbuilding, Aircraft And Transport Jobs

It is in the industries once dominated by men that women have made their most spectacular contributions to the Allied war programme. Shipbuilding is a case in point.

In March, 1939, the U. S. Census of Manufactures showed a total of only 36 women wage-earners in shipyards, less than one per cent were women. But by January 15, 1944, the number had increased to 10 per cent. Including clerical workers, women now hold one job out of every eight in American shipyards.

Aircraft and transportation industries are employing women in numbers unheard of in peacetime. Four of the nation's largest railways to-day employ at least one woman to every seven men.

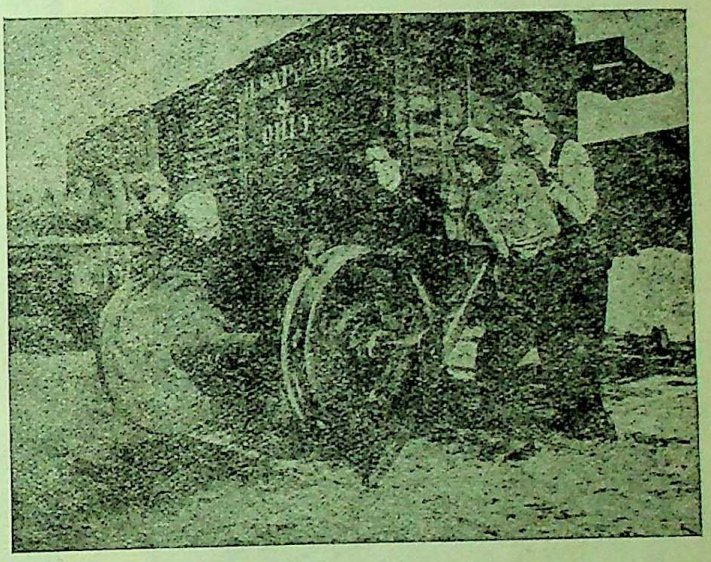
The number of women in aircraft assembly alone increased nine times in the first year of the war. By April, 1942, six percent of the productive workers in aircraft assembly were women. In January, 1944, women wage-earners in airplane engine and propeller plants exceeded 4,73,000. Thirty-six percent of all aircraft workers combined were women.

Women In Iron And Steel Industries

The U. S. iron and steel industry is another which uses a large number of women workers. At one plant in the central United States women have been admitted to the open-hearth and blast-furnace work for the first time in history.

A recent survey of 41 steel mills by the Women's Bureau of the U. S. Labour Department shows that women are now working in most of the American mills, but that their work is restricted chiefly to lighter and less skilled jobs.

The bureau feels that the more closely a job is associated with the handling of basic raw materials, the less suitable it is for women; that the best jobs for women, both now and after the war, are in laboratories, maintenance and service divisions, and clerical departments of the mills.



American women work on railway maintenance, considered one of the most arduous of the "heavy jobs"

Legal Protection For Women War Workers

Twenty-nine of the United States passed laws in 1942 and 1943 which changed conditions under which women could hold war jobs.

In four of these states there had been no previous standards for women's employment. One of these states adopted a meal-period law, another a day-of-rest law, the other two equal-pay laws.

In the north-western state of Utah women now may be employed in smelters and at mines,

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except in underground work. In Ohio the legislators removed the law which prevented women from working as railway maintenance section hands, express drivers, railway-crossing-switchmen, taxi-drivers, gas or electric meter readers and ticket sellers between the hours of 10 at night and six in the morning.

Ohio now also permits women to work in smelting plants, at blast furnaces, in delivery service on wagons or motor cars, in operating freight or baggage elevators, in baggage and freight handling. Previously an Ohio law prohibited women from working at tasks requiring them to lift more than 25 pounds at a time. That limit has now been raised to 35 pounds.

War expediency has forced many American women into the difficult occupation of ship-building

Wages Rates For Women

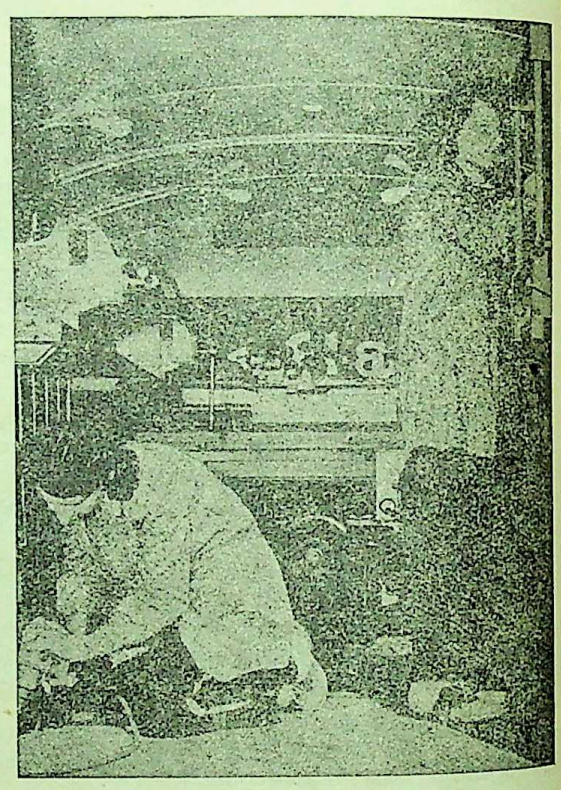
Although many industries still pay women beginners less than men starting in the same job, the principle of "equal pay for equal work" has won wider acceptance since the start of the war programme. Both the Government and unions advocate equal pay.

The U. S. National War Labour Board reports that since it announced its policy of equal pay in November, 1942, more than 2,250 companies have reported voluntary equalization of rates for men and women doing work in equal quantity and quality. These voluntary applications of the equal-pay principle have increased the rates of approximately 59,500 women workers.

No figures are available regarding the number of women workers affected by the Board's decisions in cases involving the equal-pay issue.

A recent unanimous Board decision directed a west coast aluminium concern to establish rates on the basis of job content, irrespective of the sex of the worker. Other decisions have benefited women in automotive, lumber, electrical and steel industries.

Last year the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union (affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations) reported it had signed 150 agreements with employers providing equal pay in more than 800 plants.



Women were found to be specially capable of doing the intricate detail work in the manufacture of planes

The United Rubber Workers (CIO) last in 1943 had negotiated 142 contracts, and the United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers (CIO) had signed 50 contracts, all containing equal-pay clauses. Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labour also report definite and widespread progress in obtaining wage adjustments for women.

W.M.C. Develops Ways To Use Women Workers

The U. S. War Manpower Commission has found that it can make effective use of woman-

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power, and in some areas has begun to reserve certain occupations for women only, to adjust certain other jobs so that they can be handled by women, and to establish ceilings (*i.e.* maximum figures) on the numbers of male workers.

San Francisco, in the west coast state of California, has put a ceiling on the employment of men. Industries may hire men only at a rate which enables the factories to maintain employment at 90 percent of the male force as of October, 1943. All other new employees must be women. However, several war plants with heavy schedules are exempted from this ruling.

In another U.S. industrial centre, Louisville, Kentucky, several types of war jobs are now closed to men. The U. S. Employment Service, recruiting women to maintain the war working force at an adequate level, are now referring the women to jobs where industry does not have to make special plant adjustments or where adjustments can be made quickly; to jobs where women can replace men who will be shifted to more hazardous or difficult operations.

Half Of New Women Workers Are War Volunteers

According to Government reports, approximately half of the 50,00,000 women who have gone to work in the last four years would not have done so under normal circumstances. Most of these are housewives who either found it necessary to go to work after their husbands entered the armed forces or who took jobs for patriotic reasons.

The main thing, however, is that all these new women workers—including those who belong to "Grandmothers' Clubs" and the 17-year-olds who must obtain permits to leave school—are helping sustain the Allied record-breaking rate of war production.

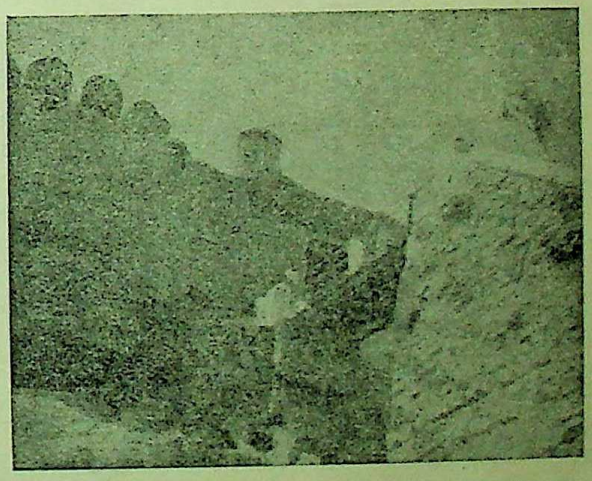
Courtesy: USOWI

THE HISTORIC FORT AT GINGEE

By N. RAMAKRISHNA

The famous historic rock fortress at Gingee is in the Tindivanam Taluk of South Arcot district in South India. The place is some twenty miles from the town of Tindivanam, a railway station in the South Indian Railway line on the main line from Madras Egmore to Trichinopoly. The interest of the place is chiefly historical.

The fortress consists of three strongly fortified hills, Rajagiri, Krishnagiri and Chandraya Durg, connected by long walls of circumvallation. The most notable is the Rajagiri on which stands the citadel. It is about 500 or 600 feet high and consists of a ridge terminating in a great overhanging cliff facing the south and falling with a precipitous sweep to the plain in the north. The citadel is on the top of the cliff. A narrow and deep ravine gives a difficult means of access to the top. On every other side it is quite inaccessible, the sides of the rock rising from the base to a great height. Across the ravine three walls have been built, each about 25 feet high and rising one behind the other at some little distance which render the attack in that direction almost impracticable. The way to the summit leads across the three walls through several gateways. But at the very top a portion of the rock is divided by a narrow chasm 24 feet wide and 60 feet deep from the main mass of the hill. The only way to the citadel is across this chasm. The fortifiers of the rock artificially prolonged and heightened it through a wooden bridge across and made the only means of ingress into the citadel through a gateway facing the bridge about 30 yards from it. There are flank walls fitted with loopholes for musketry. It has been truly said that in the conditions of warfare then existing this gateway could have been held by ten men against ten thousands.



Across the deep ravine there is a wooden bridge giving the only access to the fort at Gingee

It is not possible to say who constructed the fort but tradition and the nature of the buildings point to the conclusion that the credit of building it goes mainly to the kings of the Vijayanagar Dynasty. The Mortello

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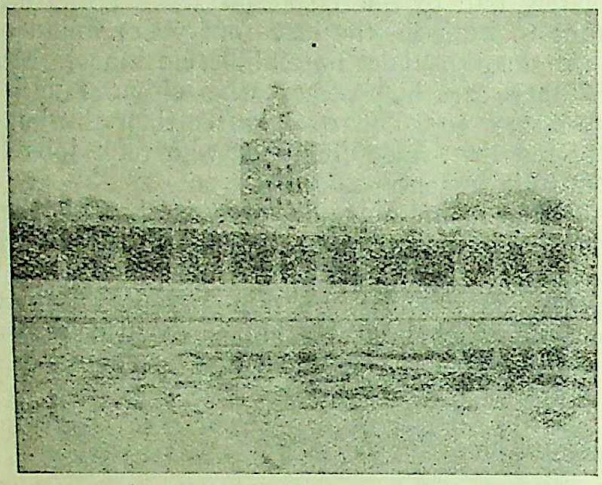
Towers show the traces of European supervision. The great lines of fortifications which cross the valley between the three hills enclosing an area of 7 square miles were built at different periods. In the original form each consisted of a wall of about 5 feet thick built up of blocks of granite

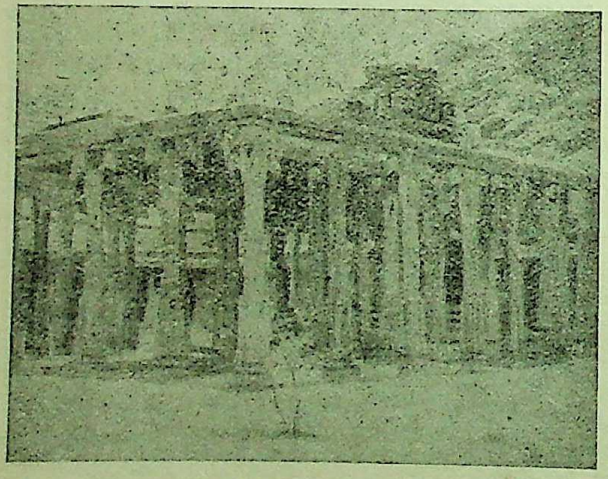


The Kalyana Mahal in the background and a portion of the Elephant Tank

and filled in with rubble but subsequently a huge earthen rampart about 25 to 30 feet thick has been built and riveted roughly in the inside with stone while at intervals in this rampart are barracks and guard rooms.

Ruins

Several ruins are situated within the fort area. There are the temples and the Kalyana Mandap (Kalyana Mahal), gymnasium and



The dilapidated Mandapam in the temple compound situated inside the fort

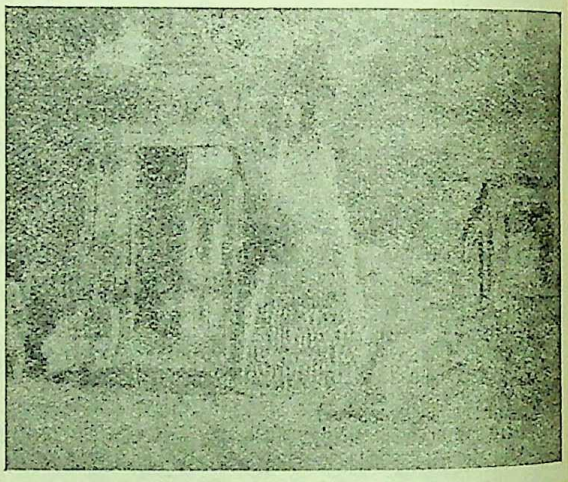
granaries. There are various mandapas supported on stone pillars and a large granary on the top of Krishnagiri.

The most attractive of all the ruins is the Kalyana Mahal which consists of a square court surrounded by rooms for ladies of the governor's household. In the middle of the court is a square tower of eight storeys about 80 feet high with a pyramidal roof. The first six storeys are of the same pattern, with an arcaded verandah running around a small room about 8 feet square and communicating with the storey above by means of small steps. The room on the seventh storey has no verandah but there are indications that one such existed formerly. Other places of interest are the Raja's bathing stone etc.

A little to the south of Rajagiri is a hill called Chakli Durg. The summit is strongly fortified but the defences are not connected with those of the other hills.

Krishnagiri

At a little distance from Rajagiri is the hill of Krishnagiri, well fortified in the north-easterly direction of Rajagiri. A flight of



The temple of Ranganatha—three miles from the fort at Gingee

steps leads one to the top without much difficulty. The main places of interest are the Mandap on the top, a dilapidated temple and a number of cool places which can quite easily be compared with that of our modern air-conditioned rooms during the worst days of summer. Probably the kings used to spend the hottest part of the day there. There are springs which always furnish ice-cold water. The granary on the top of the hill is worth mentioning. A general view of Rajagiri and Chakli Durg can be commanded from the top and the deep moats and broad walls of fortifications can be seen right through.

History of the Place

Gingee was a stronghold of the Vijayanagar kings. Their power was at the height of prosperity towards the close of the 15th century. They were overthrown by the Muhammadan

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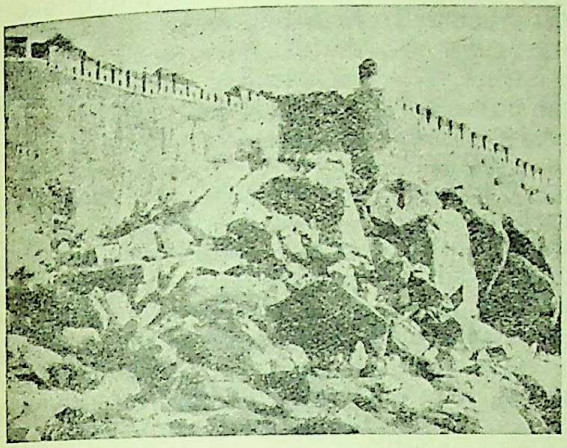
kings in 1564 at the battle of Talaikot. In 1638 the Bijapur general captured it. The Bijapur army which was responsible for the capture of the fort was led by Shahji, father of Shivaji



The strongly built wall of the fort with the Mortello Tower

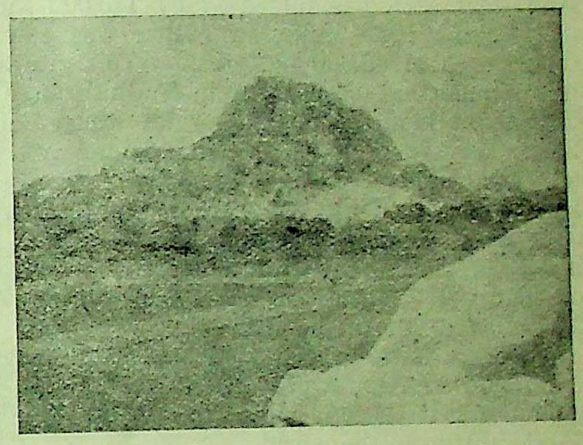
the Great. In 1677 the fort fell to Shivaji and remained in Mahratta hands for 21 years. The Delhi Emperor laid seize to it in 1690 and after 8 years the fort fell. In 1750 the French captured it and held it for 11 years. In 1780 it surrendered to Hyder Ali. The fort was looked upon as one of the unhealthiest spots of the Carnatic. The place is deserted now but the Government spends some amount of money annually for the preservation of the ruins.

The Ballad of Raja Desingh

Gingee is popular and familiar to the Tamil population on account of the popular ballad still sung by wandering ministrels which has for its subject the story of Raja Desingh. According to the ballad, Desingh was an independent ruler of Gingee who did not pay tribute to any power. The Emperor Aurangzeb had remitted payment of all dues as a reward for his skill in managing a horse that no one could ride. The Nawab of the Carnatic was jealous of Desingh and on his refusal to pay the tribute invaded the country. In the fight the Rajah was killed in spite of supernatural interference. The Queen committed "sati" and the Nawab built a city in the neighbourhood as a mark of honour in memory of the young queen and named the city Ranipet.

There is a temple of Ranganatha on the adjoining hill some 3 miles from the fort. There is a gigantic idol of Ranganatha cut out of a single rock more than 25 feet in length. It is said that the whole portion—the idol along with the Gopura—has been cut out of a single rock. A flight of steps nearly 100 in number leads to the top.

Within the fort area there is a temple where it seems was the idol of Ranganatha, but no idol is found there now. The temple has



The Rajagiri hill

fallen to ruins but there are some carved pillars and mandapams.

A river called Sankarabarani flows on the outskirts of Gingee and there are a number of Mandapas and towers on the banks of the river, all in ruins. The style represents that of the buildings built by the Vijayanagar kings.

SOVIET TADJIKISTAN

By POMUS

Between two mountain ranges—Tyanshan, meaning 'celestial hills' and the Pamirs called the 'roof of the world' lies Soviet Tadjikistan stretching to the U.S.S.R. boundary with Afghanistan and western China.

Tadjikistan covers an area of 143,900 square kilometres and has a population of nearly one and a half million. The highest mountains in the U.S.S.R., the Stalin Peak, 7495 metres; the Lenin Peak, 7127 metres; and the Fedchenko Glacier 77 kilometres long—largest in the world —are found in Tadjikistan.

Under Tsarism Tadjikistan was notorious for its low level of development.

With the fraternal assistance of the Russian people, the Tadjiks cast off the fetters of Tsarism and the yoke of Emir of Bokhara, establishing, in 1924, an autonomous republic which later,

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in 1929, became a union republic. Three quarters of Tadjikistan's inhabitants are Tadjiks, the remainder being Uzbeks—living in north-west—, Kirghiz and Russians. Within the Tadjik republic an autonomous region has been formed on the plateaus and slopes of the Pamirs, with Khorog as its centre, and its population consisting chiefly of Tadjiks and Uzbeks.

Many economic successes have been scored by the people of Tadjikistan since the establishment of the Soviets. An irrigation system has been built in western Tadjikistan and the adjoining mountain with the help of funds allocated by the Soviet Government. Thus, the area under irrigation was, in 1938, 290,000 hectares larger than in 1914, which means an increase of 67 per cent. Rice and cotton plantations have been considerably expanded : they are now six times of the size they were in 1914. And their area has increased by 110,000 kilometres. In 1939 Egyptian cotton was raised on an area of 40,000 hectares. Fruit growing is an important occupation in Tadjikistan. On unwatered land the Tadjiks raise wheat and barley covering an area approximately of 600,000 hectares—30 per cent more than that before the first World War. Nowhere in the world does farming thrive on such an elevated land as it does in Tadjikistan. Here vineyards are spread on land 2,000 metres high and barley is grown 3,500 metres above the sealevel.

Horses, large-horned cattle, sheep and goats are found in Alpine pastures. Tadjikistan is famous for its sheep, and it has some of the finest mutton in the world.

Large textile mills sprang up recently in the republic, as well as fruit and vegetables canneries. Coal, oil, gold and non-ferrous and rare metals have become important products. As compared to the pre-Revolutionary times, the volume of production in Tadjikistan has increased no less than 400 times. In the recent years the water power of Tadjikistan's river has been set into exploitation. Tadjikistan had no roads under Tsarism but only winding paths cutting through the Pamirs with hazardous passageways across yawning abysses of mountain ravines. At present the country is criss-crossed with motor roads.

The years of the Soviet rule have been marked by a rise in the standard of living and educational level of the Tadjik people. Formerly deprived of all rights and with little say in her own home, the Tadjik woman has gained her emancipation, and is participating in building a new and happier life. 4,000 elementary schools, over a hundred high schools and hundreds of public libraries and club houses have sprung up in the recent years. A quarter million children are attending schools which is 600 times the number of pupils prior to the Soviets. Illiteracy has dropped from almost 100 per cent to 28 per cent. There are at present five colleges in the republic. Seventy newspapers, mostly in Tadjik, Uzbek and Kirghiz, are published here, while Tadjikistan's national theatres, musicians and artists have gained a countrywide recognition. A good deal of scientific research is carried on in the republic under the auspices of the affiliated branch of the Academy of Sciences, U.S.S.R.

Deeply loyal to the Soviet system, which has brought to them freedom, national independence and cultural efflorescence, the Tadjik people have sent, and cotninue to send, their fearless sons to defend the mother country against the Nazi hordes.

EVO-REVOLUTION

By Prof. KSHIROD CHANDRA SANYAL, M.A.

I

The world is changing continually. A moment passes, and it is not the same world as it was a moment before. This mutability is characteristic of everything that exists—both lifeless and living. The lofty mountain peak may seem to be standing in the same proud posture of perfect erection for thousands of centuries, but the numerous streams and rivulets, that issue out of it, are imperceptibly bringing its towering head down to the dust. The irresistible forces of change spare nothing from their operation. This inherent changeableness of objects and organisms may either be a very slow and gradual process or it may be a swift-moving spectacle like the sudden flight of an arrow or like an abrupt jump in which several intermediate stages of development have been skipped over. The former process I would dub as evolutionary change and the latter revolutionary. This nomenclature must not, however, be taken to mean that evolution and revolution are two separate forces each working independently of the other. They are but two aspects of the same process of change. Evolution stands in the same relation to revolution as walking does to running or jumping. In other words, revolution is rapid evolution occurring at un-

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certain and irregular intervals. This may seem quite commonplace and a discussion of the sort hardly necessary. But there have been persons in all ages and climes with whom Fabianism has been the only workable formula making for progress. "Inevitability of gradualness" is their favourite slogan. My purpose in writing this has been to show that revolution is inherent in every process of change and is bound to come if change is to take place, and that evolution and revolution have always been composite and complementary forces. To emphasise this composite and complementary character of the forces of change I have coined the word 'Evo-Revolution.' The Fabianists forget that the Cunctator's policy of caution and delay did not in itself lead to the deliverance of Italy from the Hannibalic danger, although it gave her the respite which was necessary for organising total efforts to humble the enemy.

Let us now try to see how the forces of 'evo-revolution' have been working in different spheres.

II

The theory of evolution suggests a process of gradual unfolding in which every subsequent stage is closely related to an earlier one. Life has evolved, according to this theory, in course of the ages, through continuous modification—first of one, then of a few, then more and more numerous ancestral species. Life is like a tree and the innumerable living patterns are like so many branches. But life, as we know it, has not existed right from the beginning of the planetary career of the earth. It is admitted by men of science that at a certain stage in our planet's history, we know not when, life originated in a simple form from lifeless matter. That was undoubtedly a tremendous change, nothing short of a revolution. We thus owe the beginning of our existence to a revolution, the first revolution in the evolution of life; it was not, however, the last. In fact, the emergence of every novel feature in the living forms—including the appearance of an entirely new species from a somewhat different ancestral stock—has largely been the result of sudden jerks in the evolutionary process, technically called 'mutations.' Mutations are, according to our definition, revolutions in evolution. Apart from such abrupt changes, revolutionary change may also mean a process of very rapid development of some particular form in a remarkably shorter period than has been necessary for the development of others of the same kind. The evolution of man, viewed from the perspective of the evolution of other mammals, has been such a revolutionary development. The point will be clear if we compare the development of the horse (every stage in the evolution of which has been traced) with that of man.

The evolution of horses from a small Eocene mammal (Eocene is the earliest period of the latest geological Era, the Cenozoic Age) has taken at least fifty million years of limitless time, whereas the evolution of man from a man-like mammal has taken not more than ten million years, probably much less, and the much-vaunted civilisation of man beginning from the primitive conditions of the Stone Age is hardly ten thousand years old. Not unreasonably, therefore, man is regarded as a mere upstart in the history of the evolution of life.

III

The interaction of evo-revolutionary forces is equally noticeable in the world of physical phenomena. The great mountain ranges were, for the most part, built up as a result of violent 'revolutions' in the earth's crust in the Proterozoic and Paleozoic Ages (second and third geological Eras) of the planet's history. In fact, every remarkable physical phenomenon is the outcome of the combined efforts of evo-revolution. When a beautiful coral island suddenly shoots up its head from under the blue waters of the sea, we are apt to forget the long period of its formation, bit by bit, which is hidden from our view. Or if we turn to any destructive natural phenomenon, we shall observe or at least infer, the working of the same evo-revolutionary forces which jointly produce it. The sudden outburst of a volcanic eruption has behind it an elaborate process of preparation inside.

IV

The evidence of History is also fully in accord with our thesis. Let us turn our attention to certain palpable historical facts. The tremendous socio-political changes which revolutionised Russia under Peter the Great (1689-1725), Japan in 1868 and Turkey after the last World War, do not seem to have been preceded by any evolutionary progress in the direction which the revolutions took. All these countries appear to have been thoroughly Europeanised (Russia, till the time of Peter, was more an Asiatic than a European country) almost overnight. But if the adoption of European manners and methods was an act of sudden importation in these cases, the evolution itself of Western ways and ideas had been a very slow and gradual process which took the Western European countries centuries of development in a particular direction before those ways and ideas could be profitably transplanted to foreign soil. The Industrial Revolution, which ultimately replaced the primitive methods of production by scientific

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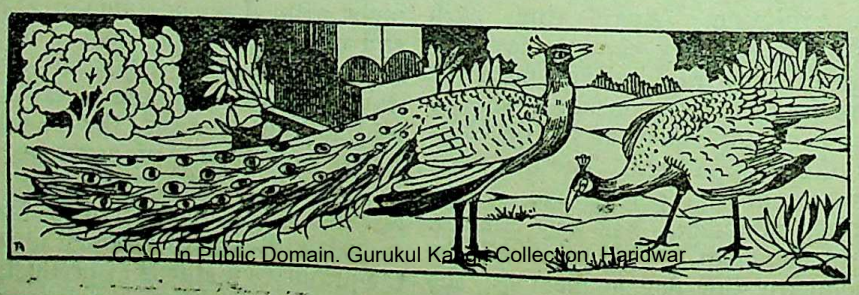
methods, was likewise the product of generations of patient and painstaking research by eminent men of science. The Renaissance or the New Learning, which was a tremendous intellectual upheaval and which is said to have begun with the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453, was not an abrupt and momentary phenomenon, but had its roots deep in the past and was a long process of moral, material and intellectual activity. The rise of Protestantism was a revolution in the religious sphere, but the seeds of that revolution had been sown by men like Wycliffe (c. 1320-84) and Huss (burnt aliive in 1415) long before Luther ventilated his protest against Papal Indulgences in 1517. Further, the Reformation was really a subsequent phase of the Renaissance. The political revolutions in England (1688), France (1789) and Russia (1917) came at the top of accumulated popular discontent which in every one of these countries was about a century old. Some are not prepared to regard the great achievement of the British Parliament in 1688 as a revolution. They say, it was a revolution averted. Perhaps to their mind, no change is sufficiently revolutionary unless it is attended with some amount of bloodshed. It may, however, be pointed out that an enormous quantity of blood having been shed in England during 1642-49, further shedding of that precious liquid was unnecessary in 1688.

The blood-stained lessons of that stormy period must have had a sobering and salutory effect even upon the despotic nature of James II.

In all the cases cited above revolution triumphed. There have, however, been cases where revolution failed to achieve its purpose. That failure has been due to either or all of the following reasons: (*a*) defective leadership, (*b*) the country or the people concerned had not yet reached that stage of evolutionary development where and when a revolutionary attempt had a reasonable chance of success, (*c*) the forces of reaction were too strong for the revolutionaries at the time when the attempt was actually made. But though unsuccessful for the time being, every honest attempt at revolutionary progress is bound to bear fruit somewhere in the near or distant future. Scores of historical illustrations of this statement can be cited. The Fabianists, however, maintain that every revolutionary attempt is almost always followed by a reaction towards retrogression. They might conveniently point their finger to the English Restoration of 1660 so soon after the execution of Charles I in 1649 or to the formal establishment of the Napoleonic Empire in 1804 after over a decade of republican rule or to similar historical occurrences. The English Restoration did not, however, mean the return of autocracy in England and Napoleon's Empire "was not an interruption, but an extension of the Revolution" in France and in Europe as a whole.

A strikingly common feature of all successful revolutions is that in such cases we generally find one or a handful of highly gifted men directing and controlling the entire movement, the success of which depends, in a large measure, upon their consummate leadership. Do these born leaders of men inherit the rare qualities of head and heart which make them great, direct from their ancestors? Perhaps not. Because heredity does not generally move in straight-line evolution in which certain characteristics are descended and continually developed from father to son onwards till we get a superman. Biologists would probably suggest that genius is the result of a chance combination in an individual of the chromosome contents of the sperm-and-ovum cells of his parents, which determine almost the whole of his hereditary constitution and character. This may or may not be a correct explanation of the riddle, but the fact remains that extraordinary men are accidental phenomena. They are not, however, entirely independent of the past. In fact, almost the whole of their wisdom is derived from the accumulated experiences of past generations part of which has been implanted in them through inheritance and part acquired through conscious efforts of the individuals concerned. In some respects, however, they are 'original' in the sense that they are uncommon. This originality is a rare gift and an accidental attribute in them. They are thus human embodiments of the spirit of evo-revolution. They design and build novel structures, but they always build on pre-existing foundations.



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THE MALABAR MATRIARCHY

By Prof. KRISHNA PRASANNA MUKERJI, M.A., B.L., D.Phil. (Heidelberg)
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I

The name Malabar conjures up memories of enchantment and beauty, of love and romance, of chivalry and honour and the good old Marco Polo described his "Maabar" as the province which was the "finest and noblest in the world." Travellers visiting this beautiful province of peninsular India have been struck at once by the freedom and grace of her womanhood, by the nobility and chivalry of her manhood, by the enthralling grandeur of her landscape and the weird fascination of her seascape. But what specially attracts the sociologist of Malabar is her unique social system of which Matriarchy is the central hub, and hence the caption of this article in its present form.

The matriarchy of Malabar is the most fundamental element in her social system because all the peculiarities of the system, such as the consanguine family, he authority of women, the evolution of a military aristocracy, the promotion of liberal ideals and the cultivation of arts, are directly derived from that basic feature of Malabar social life,—Matriarchy. In view of the researches of Mclennen and others, relating to the earliest beginnings of social order, it would not be unreasonable for one to hazard the opinion that in pre-historic times the nucleus of the first social order must have originated in the consanguine family around a Mother, who served as the centripetal force; so that what is peculiar about the Malabar society is not its matriarchal origin (which appears to have been almost universal) but the endurance of matriarchy in Malabar for such a long time.

The reason of this endurance in Malabar through all the vicissitudes of fortune and epochs of history is not, as is sometimes presumed, the "backwardness" of the people but lies in this that "no people have more fully appreciated the maternal family....'. In such a family the woman senior to others in age was originally mistress or head of the family and she reigned and governed."[1] Historical evidence indicates that the reasons which made the continuance of matriarchy possible in Malabar were the warlike propensities and the aristocratic traditions of the Nayars. Exclusiveness and unwillingness to send daughters to their husbands' homes (note the same tendency among Bengal Kulins) are characteristics of an aristocracy. These in the case of Nayars being associated with military traditions (obligation to render military service which in those early days meant fighting in and out of season) naturally favoured the continuance and improvement of a system which provided for placing the duties of day-to-day management of the household in the hands of women, thereby freeing the men from the obligation of caring for wives and children. Their exclusive life in isolated semi-citadels (each one of which was provided with a "Tara"[2] or gymnasium where the youths "were taught to accustom themselves to the use of arms" freed from household anxieties) was possible only when the domestic life was founded on the basis of a matriarchal family "composed of all the male and female line of a common female ancestor" and authority relating to family matters was vested in female members, specially the seniormost female member.

Proceeding under the urge of these necessities the Nayars founded a social system which is generally based on an enlightened view of life, so that no less a person than Mayne has described the domestic system of the Nayars as "the most perfect form of joint-family". A pen-picture of the Nayar household is given by the same author in the following words: "Each Tarawad lives in its own mansion, nestling among its palm trees, and surrounded by its rice lands, but apart from, and independent of its neighbours. This arises from the peculiar structure of the family, which traces its origin in each generation to females, who live on the same ancestral house, and not to males, who would naturally radiate from it, as separate but kindred branches of the same tree."[3] The main characteristics of this system are:—(i) Indissolubility of the family and impartibility of the family property excepting on the basis of unanimous consent of members, (ii) enjoyment of family property on a sort of communistic basis (earning according to capacity and spending according to need), (iii) enjoyment of equal status by male and female members (though functions are distributed on the basis of sex distinctions and sex limitations), (iv) absence of dependence of wife on husband or children on father, (children being taken care of by the Matriarchal family).

It will be observed that the essential distinction of the system (from the common patriarchal system) arises out of the absence in it of the institution of marriage which in most other societies is the means or instrument for maintaining the social organisation, called family. Writers like Lubbock and Mclennen support the view when they come to the conclusion that the rules of inheritance in the female line (among the Nayars) must have had its origin in a "type of polyandry resembling free-love". I think that the accumulation of much baseless prejudice against this system would have been avoided if in describing the relation between the sexes among Nayars words like "polyandry", or "polygamy", were totally avoided and instead it was expressed just as "free love" or "companionship" because matrimony (with its usual social and legal implications) had really no place in the Malabar social system; though certain sacramental ceremonies celebrating the coming of age of a girl were gone through, the significance of which (ceremonies) were ritualistic and festive and not social and legal (as is the significance of marriage in communities where it exists).

Regarding the Tali-Kattu-Kalyanam[4] ceremony which a girl in a Nayar Tarawad goes through (while

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1. See A. K. Ayer: *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Vol. II, p. 47. The sovereign position of the mother in the family is further emphasised in the following passage:—"Her eldest daughter was prime minister in the family, and through her all orders were transmitted to her little world. The son recognised the priority of the mother before whom he did not even venture to seat himself, unless she had given him permission. The brother obeyed the elder sister, and respected the younger ones. In fact, the affection between brother and sister was a feeling that endured while conjugal love was but a passing sentiment." —*Ibid.*

2. Whence "Tarawad", the name for the family residence of Nayars.

3. *Hindu Law*, 5th Ed. S.203.

4. Which consists in tying a gold jewel round the neck of the girl by a man of the same caste or a Brahman.

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still a child) it is now admitted generally that it is at best a formal sacrament or a caste-rite but "in no sense a real marriage". The performance of this ceremony gives the girl right to dispose herself as she likes (indicating that she is about to attain puberty) and (perhaps as a popular recognition of that fact) she is addressed in North Malabar as "Amma" (a Mother r Lady). Mr. Justice Muthusami Ayar as President of the Malabar Marriage Commission lent support to the same view when he observed : "There is a preponderance of opinion among the witnesses whom I have examined and those who have sent in answers to our interrogatories that it does not constitute a marriage or create a right in the person who ties the Tali to cohabit with the girl"[5]. The Manavalam (as the person tying the Tali is called) who is either a Brahman or a man of equal caste, is usually dismissed after the ceremony is over with a small present in acknowledgement of the service rendered by him on the occasion."[6]

On attaining "maturity" (puberty is meant) a girl in a Marumakwathayam Tarawad however, goes through another ceremony (either with a Brahman or a man of her own caste) known as *Samabandham*, but there is nothing to justify coming to the conclusion (as some have tried to come) that it constitutes a form of legal marriage or that any of the incidents of legal marriage follow from it. On the contrary, evidence of history, law or usage is definitely against taking the view that the Nayar woman's samabandham had any of the consequences of a legal marriage (as prevalent among Hindus of any other part of India). The Portuguese traveller Barbosa described the method of succession to the throne of Gentile kings in Malabar thus:—'The heirs of these kings are their brothers, or nephews, sons of their sisters, because they hold those to be their true successors, and because they know that they are born from the body of their sisters. *These do not marry*, nor have fixed husbands, and are very free and at liberty in doing what they please with themselves." After describing the Tali ceremony of the kings' sister or niece the same shrewd observer records: "....and from this time forth for her p'easure she takes some Brahman, whomsoever she likes best, and these are priests among them, and of these she has *as many as she likes*"[7]. Describing the manners and customs of the Nayars of Malabar Barbosa writes: 'These people accompany their lords day and night, little is given them for eating and sleeping.....*These are not married* nor maintain women and children; their nephews, the sons of their sisters are their heirs. The nair women are all accustomed to do with themselves what they please with brahmans and nairs; but not with other people of lower class under pain of death"[8]. "And if she takes a dislike to any of them *she dismisses him*. The children which she has remain at the expense of the mother and of the brothers of the mother, who bring them up, because they do not know the father, and even if they should appear to belong to any person in particular, they are *not recognised by them as sons*....."[9]. Turning to the evidence of law we find that the Courts specially differentiate between the rules relating to succession as prevalent among Nayars on the one hand and those among other Hindus in South India. In *Vasudevan* vs. *The Secretary of State for India*, for instance, the Court *inter alia* observed : "According to evidence on both sides, succession is traced among Nambudris through males, and property passes from father to son, whereas, among Nayars, succession is traced through females and property descends from mother to daughter.....Again, legal marriage is the basis of law of succession among Nambudris as among Brahmans of the East Coast, while among Nayars, there is no recognised connection between marriage and inheritance.... Further, a Nambudri woman, in common with a Brahman on this side of the Ghats, takes her husband's gotram upon her marriage and passes into his family from that of her father; and perpetual widowhood and incapacity to remarry on her husband's death are the incidents of marriage both among Nambudris and Brahmans of the East Coast. But among Nayars a woman continues through life to belong to the family in which she is born, *and the sexual relation which she forms, or her so-called marriage, operates in law neither to give her the domicile of her husband nor to create a disability in her either to remarry* or to put an end to her marriage at her pleasure during her first husband's life"[10].

The origin of samabandham therefore appears to have been encouraged or inspired by circumstances and sentiments somewhat similar to those stated below :— The highly independent and refined Nayar woman and the cultured Brahman or Nayar men with whom she became acquainted by the very fact of their cultural and spiritual sympathies naturally, in many cases, felt attracted towards each other and in course of time attraction matured into friendship and intimacy and the latter ripened into love, which, as is very reasonable to expect among persons of refined tastes, in many cases was signalised by going through a (personal, not social) ceremony—the *Samabandham*. In this connection it is worthy of note that the name given to it is very expressive of the nature of the ceremony. Analysing its two etymological components 'sama' (=equal) and 'bandham' (=union), samabandham clearly emphasises the equal, free, voluntary, and uncoercive nature of the ceremony which celebrated the union, which therefore must have been of a spiritual rather than that of a social category. As we have already seen, perfect equality of the partners and terminability at will were the essential features of samabandham. Such unions might have been inspired by highest motives and noblest considerations (as no doubt most of them were thus inspired[11] and they might have promoted (as no doubt most of them did) the virtues of fidelity, love and affection but they could not have been placed under

5. W. Wigram & L. Moore: *Malabar Law and Custom* (1900), Madras, p. 36.

6. "It is a curious fact that the same man may at one time tie the tali upon a number of Nayar girls collected together under one decorated pandal or upon several sisters. There is also no objection to the same person tying the tali at one time on the mother and at another time on her daughter."—*Ibid*, p. 37. This affords a further indication of the merely formal nature of the ceremony.

7. Duarte Barbosa : *A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar in the beginning of the 16th century*, p. 106. N.B.—In the translator's preface the Hon. Henry E. J. Stanley (London MDCCCLXVI) on page ix observes—"This work is that of no ordinary capacity; it shows great power of observation, and also the possession by the writer of great opportunities for inquiry into the manners and habits of the different countries described."

8. *Ibid*, p. 124.

9. *Ibid*, p. 127.

10. I.L.R.—XI Madras. Pp.—157-168. Obviously 'marriage' and 'husbands' used here with reference to the case of Nayar women have been used all along in the so-called sense in the absence of more suitable terms.

11. In a memorandum (annexed to the Report of the Malabar Marriage Commission) by Mr. Justice Muthusami Aiyer on this question of the nature of the Marumakkathayam Samabandham the learned judge *inter alia* observed :—"....referring to the Marumakkathayam Hindus, the report states that they are all or nearly all of them better than their custom and the majority (as we are told and believe) cleave to one woman for life." See, *Malabar Law & Custom* by Wigram and Moore, pp. 48-49.

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the category of marriage, because no social or legal consequences (similar to those following legal marriage among Hindus) followed from them. Indeed those who insist on viewing samabandham as marriage imagining thereby to heighten public esteem with regard to the standard of Nayar morals do a disservice to their own cause, because it does not add to the credit of a people to say that their conduct in certain matters have been good under coercion of society or compulsion of law when in actual practice they gave proof of excellent conduct even without the exercise of any pressure from any quarter; and there can be no doubt that the Nayars (both men and women) possessed sterling qualities of character when all authorities concerned are unanimous in holding that in spite of the absence of marriage (*i.e.*, social and legal coercion) they remain faithful and chaste and that "the sexual relation thus constituted in the majority of the cases *endures for life*."[12] In face of this proof of fidelity, integrity and nobility of Nayar character (if that character still persists), modern legislations insisting on registration of marriage and imposing special pecuniary obligations on males in case of dissolution of marriage (as a guarantee against evasion of marital responsibilities) appear not only superfluous but take away that age-long dignity (in their relations between members of the two sexes), a dignity born of a real sense of mutual regard and equality which must have existed in Malabar society before the "era of reforms." Rather than as a sign of progress such legislations appear to be insulting to the Nayar's sense of honour and honesty and the Nayar woman's sense of courage and independence specially when it is remembered that even in the Vedic marriage there is no provision for registration. Other 'reformatory' legislations passed (I believe at the instance of the Nayars themselves) during the last half a century (such as the abrogation of the principle of universal consent for the dissolution of the family, the provision for enabling wife, children or husbands to inherit the self-acquired property of an intestate member) purport to introduce tendencies which not only threaten to curb the influence of matriarchal system in Nayar families (and through them all other matriarchal groups) but to uproot the entire system from its very foundation, and which seek to replace it (in Malabar society) by the hybrid Anglo-Hindu family which goes by the name of Hindu (joint) family in North Indian Provinces. Whether or not this is a desirable innovation or a change for the better, is a primary concern of the Malabar people and in this connection what is best for them must of course be left to them to decide. What we, as students of social phenomena, are concerned with is in making an unbiased estimate of a unique social system which is fast slipping away from the scene of our observation to the oblivion of irrevocable past. This sifting of facts from fictions is all the more necessary in this case because of the effacing and revolutionary nature of recent legislations and (from the academic point of view) all the more desirable because a huge mass of prejudices has been allowed to accumulate against this unique system—an accumulation which has been encouraged by the rarity of the system and also the lack of scientific enquiries.

Now prejudices, however baseless, have some apparent reason for their origin and accumulation and the main causes which helped the growth of prejudices against the Malabar matriarchy may be summarized as follows: Firstly, the matriarchal system, like all other ancient Indian systems which are based on a fundamentally different conception of life and its values, was finding it difficult to adjust itself to changing conditions of modern life, not evolved by us, but thrust upon us as a result of the involuntary impact of the western civilization with our own. The resulting inconveniences and disturbances were, in Malabar, without much deliberation, attributed to the inherent weakness of matriarchy. Secondly, the references made by sociological writers about the existence of matriarchy in primitive societies hurt the modernist pride of the modern man (and therefore also of the modern Nayars) when something so unmodern as matriarchy is mentioned as an integral part of his own social system because his emotional bias (rightly or wrongly) is for being known among his contemporaries as an up-to-date man, and whatever hinders the realisation of this satisfaction is (likely to be) thrown aside as undesirable (unmodern therefore undesirable). Thirdly, the rapid spread of western education in India (and of western culture through Christianity particularly in the South) has been responsible for creating an impression in the mind of (at least of English educated) Indians that monogamy and separate family (as opposed to joint-family) are unmistakable signs of a superior standard of social life and hence any system under which there is a deviation from this norm fails to appear to them to be conducive to the moral and material welfare of the people concerned. Lastly, with the growth of political consciousness all privileged groups have come to be distrusted and disliked, and along with the growth of this consciousness it is inevitable that the South Indian Brahmans as a class (irrespective of the virtues of individual Brahmans) should be distrusted and disliked (if not despised). Well-informed observers are not wanting who hold that some members of the ruling class, in order to take advantage of the "divide and rule" policy, deliberately encouraged this tension between the Brahmans and non-Brahmans in the South (where the Hindu-Moslem differences could not be fomented to any appreciable extent) so that exaggerated prejudice could be created against the politically advanced Brahmans and according to these observers the growth of the non-Brahman Party in Madras owes its origin to some such Machiavellian diplomacy. Be that as it may, the fact remains that the spirit of the time has been able to create a prejudice against the Brahman privileged class (which is additionally disliked in the South as a group of interlopers from the North) and against every system with which his privileged position is connected. The Nambudri Brahmans undoubtedly held a special and peculiar position with regard to their relation with Nair women, who were the best samples and perhaps the strongest champions of Malabar Matriarchy and hence there was a prejudice against that Matriarchy itself.

Under the influence of such pride and prejudice the social system of Malabar has come to be attacked (in recent times) as antiquated, unwieldy, unnatural and immoral. Our task here is to analyse these contentions in the light of reason and history. It will be easily seen that in its barest essence the logic of the above-mentioned arguments is reduced to the following four propositions:—

A. That there are social maladjustments in Malabar and there is (or rather was) Matriarchy in Malabar society, therefore Matriarchy is the cause of the social maladjustments.

B. That Matriarchy is found in primitive societies and also in Malabar. But present-day Malabar wants to be modern, therefore present-day Malabar must reject Matriarchy.

C. That Western nations are progressive and they are monogamous and individualistic (anti-joint-family), Malabarians also want to be progressive, therefore Malabar must discard joint-family (Tarawad Matriarchy) and polyandry (and polygamy).

D. That a modern society must be democratic. Brahmans are a privileged class, Nambudris are Brahmans, therefore whatever status the Nambudris enjoy

12. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

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in Malabar is a privilege. Their relation with Nair women therefore is a privilege. The basis of this relation (which is a privilege) is Matriarchy, and since privileges must disappear from modern democratic societies, Matriarchy must disappear from Malabar.

Let us examine them one by one.

A.—Now it must be obvious to any careful observer that social maladjustments in India are symptomatic of the time and not a peculiar malady of Malabar where matriarchy prevails (or rather prevailed). These maladjustments and inconveniences are the results of the conflict of cultures which Malabar along with the rest of India has been experiencing. Social values in the West are (or have been) different from our own ideas of those values. Life in the modern West has been appraised on the basis of one's acquisitions (conveniently measured by money). Towards the realisation of such values selfish individualism, arrogance and intellectual cunning serve perhaps as necessary qualifications. This has however not been the aim of life in India (either in the North or in the South) which consisted in the realisation of ideals of humanity through the promotion of co-operation, toleration and nobler virtues like charity and love. Social systems are but instruments for the realisation of the aims of the community life; and the aim of life being different from that of the west, the Indian social systems (of which Malabar Matriarchal system is one) naturally differed from the western social systems both in *form* and (what is more noteworthy) in *spirit*. With the advent of British rule and more specially of English education when two such different life's outlooks came to an involuntary contact with each other, the result, of necessity, was a clash, as a consequence of which have arisen *all the ideological conflicts of modern India* of which Malabar (being a part of India) has had her due shares. Perhaps Malabar's share of this conflict has been more than her due because Malabar with her extraordinary social system forms a special portion of the Indian sub-continent. It is certainly difficult to suggest a way out, but this much may be asserted with certainty that the difficulties in which the Malabar people find themselves are not due to any special evil in the matriarchal system but to the conflict of two almost contradictory cultural ideals (referred above) and as such these inconveniences are being felt (in more or less degree) in other parts of India too where there is no trace of the matriarchal system.

In the northern parts of India, where the Aryan influence had been predominant, patriarchy and strict conformity to the rules of marriage have been the distinguishing features of the social order, and yet those northern communities have not escaped the turmoil created by the clash of western and Indian ideals of life. There, whether the joint-family is condemned by the 'modernist' as an unworkable relic of barbarous past encouraging the multiplication of drones or the pursuit of individualistic careers is condemned by the 'antiquated' as the sign of modern barbarism encouraging selfish greed and a narrow outlook on life, the fact remains that the social life has lost its equilibrium which it is seeking through the tumults of all these conflicts. If therefore patriarchy and the strict observance of martial law did not and could not maintain the social equilibrium (in face of the cultural conflict referred above) in communities in which they have prevailed since the dawn of civilization, are they likely to succeed in doing so where (as in Malabar) they are being copied as belated imitations? It is for the Malabarians to ponder over this question. The further question which they should seriously consider is that before they finally discard their ancient social system (which does not really appear to have been responsible for all their social difficulties) and accept the Anglo-Hindu order (Registered marriage etc.) which has failed to prove to be the panacea in the patriarchal communities in India, will it not be more desirable to see if their own system with necessary modifications (according to the needs of the time) will not be able to provide them with the solution which they are vainly seeking in foreign quarters?

(To be continued)

WAR ECONOMY AND PRICE CONTROL

By N. A. SARMA, B.A.

Economics or Politics? is the arresting title of a small book by Paul Van Zealand, wherein the one-time Prime Minister of Belgium deals with the problems and prospects of International Trade. Economics is more and more becoming a handmaid of politics and vice versa. The author rightly infers that international trade lies on the borderland between politics and economics.

The organisation of war economy largely depends on the prevailing form of government in any country—whether it is of the 'Heil Hitler' type or of the "Votes for All and Every Authority by Election" variety or of the "Sindbad the Sailor and the Old Man of the Sea" form. For, in a totalitarian country like Germany where an all-powerful central authority commands nd all others merely "goose-step" to those dictates, the economic organisation is too rigid and is apt to break finally under the stress of an all-out war. In a democratic country like England or the U.S.A., in the early months of the war when they do not yet realise the immensity of the danger not to mention the multitudinous difficulties involved, the different parties go on fighting like Kilkenny cats till finally some grave turn of events suddenly and rudely forces them to "swamp" all their minor differences and silly bickerings in an all-abounding interest in the face of the national calamity—and then, there is no stopping them, in their determination or their effort to see the whole business through! On the other hand, in a country like India, simply there is nothing like a properly planned and well co-ordinated war economy. So, it all depends . . . .

Every book on economics commences with the platitude, rather jarring one should admit, that means are scarce in relation to wants. Never is it so true as in wartime. Supply will be short and demand, especially because of war needs. will get swollen up. There we have the problem of war economy—a proper and equitable apportionment of the strictly limited supply of goods and services as between civilian and military needs—and herein lies the rationale of a comprehensive scheme of government controls in the affairs of production, exchange, distribution and consumption. The push-devil pull-baker methods of the market (they usually prefer to call it competition) may be inevitable or even useful to some extent in ordinary times. At least we can afford that pastime in normal times! But in war, as they say

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"the tail begins to wag the dog". War economy is a 'straight jacket' and all others must fit into it. All war-time controls are essentially restrictionist rather than purposive—that is to say, they are "strict jackets" rather than "supporting garments". To wage a total war like this it is absolutely necessary for every country to balance the needs of the fighting forces and those of the civilians. No doubt, civilian consumption is bound to be appreciably slimmed. Only, the burden must fall on all shoulders equitably and, a minimum standard of living must be provided for all. Therefore, in every country various measures have been promulgated to safeguard the interests of the consumers and price control is one of them. It is a minor, but essential aspect of the regulation of domestic economy. Price control is useful only as an integral part of a comprehensive whole. Says Mr. Donald Gordon, the Chairman of the War-time Prices and Trade Board in Canada: "A definite control of everything produced must be undertaken to decide what is to be produced, who is best equipped and qualified to produce it, and who is to get the production." The main object of flooring or ceiling prices is to confine price fluctuations within reasonable limits. "The effectiveness of control of consumers' prices is the ultimate test whether or not a price control system is successful." (Motell Ogdon: *Foreign Agriculture,* July 1941).

When Hitler unleashed his hordes against Poland, the whole German economy was already fully toned up to a war footing. There was an 'overall stop' on the whole range of prices and wages. Their motto was "a fixed ration at a fixed price." Of course, the ration was small and the price high. But everyone was certain of his or her limited share. But British economy was caught 'napping'. They had to collect the strings almost where they had left them in 1918. They first started with the prices of the more important essentials. And, by March 1942, out of every 10 sh. spent by an average British family, about 8 sh. went to buy goods whose prices were controlled. And now Britain has almost a perfect price control system. "Price control in the present war has reached its highest stage of development in the correlation of the British policy of holding down domestic prices and the assurance by the British dominions of reasonable prices to their producers." (Montell Ogdon: *Foreign Agr.,* July 1941). The British are always slow to start—but invariably they finish first. And now and then, they even muddle through to success! To give but a few other instances of price control measures: In September 1939, the Japanese Government prohibited all advance in prices, rents, wages, salaries, freight and insurance premia. In less than a week after the outbreak of hostilities, the Commonwealth Government of Australia fixed maximum prices for over 50 essential articles. Britain set before herself a determined ideal that "the children of that nation shall not suffer from malnutrition because of this war." British Food Administration under Lord Woolton has a glorious record. What dismal picture we get if we contrast the conditions in India! War or no war, have we not a right to at least the 'normal' miserably low standard of life?

In Britain, Germany, Canada and other countries, the principle of differential prices has been recognised and adopted—low and relatively fixed prices for necessities and very high and, if need be, rising prices for luxuries. Planning is centrally done while administration of the measures is through local price committees or district Economic Bodies. In Britain, food prices were subsidized to the tune of millions of pounds. In Germany, a considerable portion of the skimmed off excess profits is credited to price stabilization funds for the same purpose. Thus consumers' interests are always kept in view and producers get a fair price. Subsidies constitute a significant instrument in the technique of price control. Great Britain, with the aid of subsidy payments, insulated the prices of cost of living articles like food and clothing.

And now, prices are all directly or indirectly interrelated. Once you accept this, the interdependence of prices rules out all piecemeal price control legislation. Of course, the 'blanket' or the 'overall' or the 'universal' type also has defects—which has not?—especially those relating to administration. Only, it has less defects than the other type. This is the lesson of experience in other countries. The American Price Control Bill was at first 'hedged in' by so many exemptions and exceptions that it was described more as a practical joke than a price control bill. (*Economist,* 6th Dec. 1941). Even U.S.A. is slowly falling in. For the first two years of war, the smallest price increase was registered in Germany. The official wholesale index rose by 5·3 per cent and the cost of living index by 6·6 per cent—of course if you are prepared to give evidence to their official version. And why this? —because Germany possessed a scientific system of price control in the early period of the war. Of course, now Britain has a better (being more flexible and dynamic) Price Control mechanism.

Also, control of prices at every stage is needed. Prices of raw materials, producers' prices, retail prices, wholesale prices—all must be brought within the ambit of the price fixing authority. Fuel, transport and labour are the most "strategic" of all prices. When Labour Minister Bevin said that he did not propose to "monkey with workers' pennies", pat came the *Economist's* stern warning: "To say that all prices except that of labour should be held down is as fatuous and futile as to maintain that all prices except that of labour should be allowed to rip." "The fact is you cannot leave wages and salaries which are the main factors in prices, to rise indiscriminately and still be realistic about preventing inflation." (Eccles, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board).

Price control necessarily implies regulation of slpplies and distribution. A vigorous drive is always needed to unearth all hoarded stocks. Rationing is the logical corollary to price control. In the absence of rationing, price control would result in the early bird getting most of the worms openly—and the stronger bird knocking off all the worms occultly (in the black market). This is just what has been happening all over India in the case of the few articles whose prices have been controlled, with the exception of a few cities like Bombay where rationing is successfully working. Thus the sacrifice of the cultivator in accepting fixed prices is generally not reflected in any tangible benefit to the middle and poor class consumers. Direct controls like Price Control and Rationing, if they are to be successful, must be well co-ordinated with monetary and fiscal mechanisms. "If the price freeze operated without support from complementary steps, it would be violated in at least three ways. Without a reduction or neutralization of spendable incomes, large-scale black-marketing would spring up and inflation would continue. Without formal rationing of scarce consumers' goods, informal and most probably inequitable schemes would emerge, with the retailer as the administrator. Without an adequate wage policy, legitimate claims for subsidy due to rising variable costs would overwhelm the administration." (W. W. Rostow—*American Economic Review,* September, 1942). Authoritarian rationing is thus the only corrective to the power of the purse. Rationing of one article leads to rationing of another—price control of one commodity leads to price control of another. The whole problem of distributing the nation's resources is one and cannot be split up into air-tight compartments. Look ahead and see things as a whole.

It is instructive to note price movements in various countries. The following tables are taken from the Federal Reserve Bulletin, (U. S. A. Govt.).

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1. COST OF LIVING INDEX NUMBERS					2. WHOLESALE PRICES (*all commodities*)			3. RETAIL FOOD PRICES				
U.S.A. 1935-39 =100·	Canada 1935-39 =100·	U.K. July 1914 =100·	Germany 1913-14 =100·	Year or month	U.S.A. 1926=100·	Canada 1926=100·	U.K. 1930=100·	Germany 1913=100·	U.S.A. 1935-39 =100·	Canada 1935-39 =100·	U.K. July 1914 =100·	Germany 1913-14 =100·
99	102	158	126	1939	77	75	103	107	95	101	141	123
100	106	184	130	1940	79	83	137	110	97	106	164	128
105	112	199	133	1941	87	90	153	112	106	116	168	129
117	117	200	137	1942	99	96	159	114	124	127	161	132
120	119	200	136	1942 (Dec.)	101	97	161	115	133	133	164	129
123	117	199	137	1943 (March)	103	99	162	116	137	128	165	133
124	119	198	204 (Aug.)	1943 (Sept.)	103	101	163	117 (July)	137	134	166	139 (August)

(a) The All India Index Number of all Commodities' Prices Base—Week ended 19th August 1939=100·
June 1942=155·2 June 1943=241·7

(b) Index Number of Commodity Prices (Calcutta) Base 1914=100:
All Commodities (Number 72) Feb. 1943=253, Sept. 1943=349 (when the War broke out it was just a little over 100.)

(c) Cost of Living Index Numbers (Bombay) Base June 1934=100·

1938—106
1939—106
1940—112
1941—122
1942—157
1942 (Dec.)—188.
1943 (Mar.)—208
1943 (Sept.)—238
1943 (Nov.)—243.

The reasons for the abnormal rise of prices in India are many and varied. Roots of the evil lie very deep—in the financing of Government expenditure by inflationary methods and in physical shortage of goods. The consequences of inflation are the consequences of the stage it is allowed to reach. Currency inflation and the resulting rise in price level, unless checked in time, would gather momentum like a snowball rolling downhill. An increase in note circulation, without a corresponding development in economic activity, leads to higher prices, and 'to carry the rise in prices' more notes are issued. Of course, the saying "not worth a continental," does not yet apply to the Indian Rupee. It is rather strange that we should find in our midst some publicists who still consider the Government methods of financing their war demands as sound. Fortunately their number is extremely limited. As Irving Fisher would put it, the attitude of those few persons is comparable to the optimism of a person who, having dropped off the fourteenth storey of a sky-scraper was said to have exclaimed, just before hitting the ground, "So far so good"! Unless the abnormal increase in purchasing power is rigidly confined, price control measures cannot be successful. Also, the increased purchasing power is very unequally distributed.

You cannot quite ignore the domestic problems and still accomplish your task of beating the Japs to their knees. Surely you cannot leave the home economy to shift for itself as best as it can under these war-conditions and still wage a successful war! The fighting line and the consumers at home are but two sides of the same. Till very recently the Government of India preferred to "wait, watch and warn." I doubt if there is any other country in the world where so many committees have been appointed and so many conferences have been convened! 'Umpteen' Price Control Conferences held prolonged discussions and still nothing has taken shape. Nor is it the fault of the conferences. The fact is we see a lot of planning by amateur bureaucrats but no plan. In the fifth year of the war, we are just tinkering with the merest details on the outer fringe of the problem of war economy. Our Government has in the economic sphere a consistent record of "too little and too late." How apt are these words: "It has been a question of driving bit by bit—inch by inch, driving the Government along the path which necessity has at last faced them to enter upon.....What I fear is that these expedients will be put off as long as possible by Government.....until, when they are adopted, much of the usefulness which could be derived from them is gone. I believe that ration cards for everything that matters will soon be served out to every one of us.....Prices will have to be fixed all round.....But why not do these things now? Why not do them when there is still time? No one is stopping the Government except themselves." (Mr. Winston Churchill—House of Commons—16th November, 1916). We have in India an administrative machinery that is like an edifice without the ground floor and the cost of running it is in flagrant violation of all canons of economy and efficiency. We are thus 'subsidizing' from general revenues parasitic incompetence. So far our blue-prints-waving bureaucrats have been looking at the question of price control as a spare-time hobby. It is one long doleful recital of the utter abnegation of their duties and responsibilities to the people on their part. So long as the blessed word on the lips of the Government is "agreement" in economic matters during such abnormal times, the results would be inefficiency, flabbiness, artificial scarcity and finally famine. Spokesman of the Government with their heads bowed with the enormous weight of Nothing, lounging in brocaded armchairs, are never tired of waxing over the various measures they propose to enforce 'in due course' to mitigate our war-time economic maladies—while in the same breath they carefully reiterate the multitudinous difficulties and obstacles that must be surmounted in a vast agricultural country like ours before control of prices can be successful. What they say is often not worth the wagging of their tongues. It is all a hopeless fabric of lies and a tangle of evasions which even a schoolboy can easily unravel. None denies that there are many real difficulties. Administration of controls presents a serious problem. In a sub-continent like India, conditions differ from province to province. Also, production is not concentrated either in a few localities or in a few hands. Millions of very small producers have to be dealt with—especially with regard to agricultural pursuits and cottage industries. Again, all these small agriculturists may have to be subsidized. But if there is a ruthless will to succeed, are they really insurmountable? What we cannot justify, we only seek to explain away. A bird whispers in my ear that the Government is deliberately following this policy to placate some elements in the country (profiteers, private traders, war contractors, overpaid but underworked legion of officials.....) so that it may with it calls "law and order" in the land. So again, Economics or Politics?—One never knows!

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EARLY HISTORY OF SILK IN BENGAL

By DEBAJYOTI BURMAN

III

The story of the English trade begins in 1657, when the Company was at last adequately provided with capital, and a sum of £3000 was ordered to be invested in Bengal raw silk, while in the following year authority was given for regular purchases of 100 bales, worth about 20,000 rupees in all.[36] The superior efficiency of the Dutch merchants gave them a long lead in Bengal, but it was utilised mainly for Asiatic developments. It is not known whether there was any opposition to the Dutch purchases. When the new trade was definitely established, there are no signs of local hostility to their large exports, such as we should expect to hear of if their effect had been to deprive Indian workers of their raw material, and it is more probable that the supply was increased to meet the increasing demands.

In one way, the trade was simple, for silk was a royal monopoly, and merchants could expect reasonable treatment so long as their position at Court was maintained. The Dutch seem to have been better served by their agents at the Court, but in any case they had a very great commercial advantage over the English in their ability to supply the Persian market with spices, the commodities in most demand; the English being able to offer spices, were frequently in difficulty as to laying down saleable goods in adequate quantities, and the Dutch certainly seemed the larger proportion of the silk trade.[37] Mention has already been made of silk factories at Delhi which sometimes employed as many as 4000 weavers of silk. In 1788, Ghulam Hussain Salim[38] states that silk was produced well and in abundance in Bengal. Good silk stuffs were manufactured in this country. A very good account of sericulture in Bengal has been provided by H. T. Colebrooke and Anthony Lambert in their joint treatise, entitled *Husbandry of Bengal*, first circulated secretly and then openly published by Robert Knight. The following passage from the book gives a fairly good idea of this industry at the close of the eighteenth century (1794)[39].

In districts to which our inquiries respecting silk have been limited, the culture of the mulberry is estimated at fifteen rupiyas fourteen anas, and the produce at 19 R. 8 a. for the bigha.*

	Sa.	Rs.	As.
Cost of mulberry cuttings ..		1	0
8 ploughings, with 2 ploughs each at 4 anas		2	0
Expense of planting the slips ..		2	0
2 hand hoeings ..		2	8
Weeding twice		2	0
Rent		4	0
Total outlay before a crop is obtained		13	8
Annual.			
Four ploughings as before	1	0	
2 hand hoeings	2	8	
Weeding 5 times	5	0	
		8	8
Rent	4	0	
Use of money, at 25 % on the first outlay	3	6	
		7	6
		15	14
Annual produce, if the plant be sold, (as is frequently practised).			
In Dec., 7 loads of plant, (each load as much as the labourer carries) at 1 Re.		7	0
March 5½ do at 8 anas		2	12
May 5 do „ 8 „		2	8
June 4 do „ 8 „		2	0
July 6 do „ 8 „		3	0
Sept. 4½ do „ 8 „		2	4
		Rs. 19	8 as.

From the apparent profit of 3 Rs. and 10 as. must be deducted the superintendence of the culture, and some labour which is not provided for in the estimate; such as that of gathering the crop and transporting it.

The peasant, who feeds his own silk worms, gives full employment to his family; how far their labour is rewarded may be judged from the usual estimation of the produce of silk. A frame, filled with worms from 640 cones, produces near 50 lbs weight of balls of silk, after consuming 10 loads of mulberry leaves; consequently 1 cwt. and a half of the cones, or 2 mans nearly, may be obtained from the produce of 1 bigha of land: the best cones may be sold to the filatures at the rate of 18 sers for a rupiya; but a deduction must be made therefrom for such balls of silk as are of inferior quality. We have not materials for estimating the expense and produce of filatures. With the hand reel, 2 sers (or 4 lbs. av.) of silk are obtained from a man of cones. This reel is tedious in its operation; but labour with it is paid no better than that of spinning cotton yarn, namely, about one rupiya and a half for a ser of yarn. However the charges of filatures cannot be much greater; and making an allowance for the proportion of inferior silk reserved for Indian consumption, and similar to what is known in Europe by the name of floretta, the prime cost of filature silk, shipped from Europe, need not exceed 10 current rupiyas for a ser; if it sells on a medium at 25 sh. for the great lb., it might afford a considerable profit. (The production of raw silk in Bengal might be increased to supply much more than 150 or 200 tons, which is said to be the quantity now exported. Perhaps the districts, to which it is limited, cannot raise a much greater quantity than they do at present: but the silk worm

36. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzib*, p. 139.
37. Moreland, *Ibid*, p. 40.
38. *Riadus Salatin*, p. 23.
39. Celebrooke, *Husbandry of Bengal*, pp. 92-94, 109.

*First planting for a field of one bigha.

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has been tried in South Bihar, and in the northern provinces of Bengal; and, upon the result of experiment, we are warranted to presume that the production might be more generally diffused. It is at present almost confined to a part of the province of Burdwan, and to the vicinity of Bhagirathi river and great Ganges, from the fork of those rivers for a hundred miles down their stream.)

Describing the chief centres of silk manufacture, Colebrooke writes :[40]

The neighbourhood of Moorshedabad is the chief seat of manufacture of wove silk; tapeta, both plain and flowered, and many other sorts, for inland commerce and for exportation, are made there more abundantly than at any other place where silk is wove. Tissues, brocades, and ornamented gauzes, are the manufacture of Beneras. Plain gauzes, adapted to the uses of the country, are wove in the Western and the Southern corner of Bengal.

The weaving of mixed goods made with silk and cotton, flourishes chiefly at Malda, at Bhagalpur, and at some towns in the province of Berdwan.

A considerable quantity (of filature silk) is exported to the western parts of India; and much is sold at Mirzapur, a principal mart of Beneras, and passes thence to the Mahratta dominions and the centrical parts of Hindustan.

The tesser, or wild silk, is procured in abundance from countries bordering on Bengal, and from some provinces included within its limits . . . Its cheapness renders it useful in the fabrication of coarse silks.

The conditions of silk manufacture is further borne out by Hill and Orme. Hill states that Bengal produced "cloth of all kinds, most beautiful muslins, silk, raw or worked."[41] Orme says,[42]

The vocation from agriculture left a much greater number of the inhabitants, than can be spared in others, at leisure to apply themselves to the loom, so that more cotton and silk are manufactured in Bengal than in thrice the same extent of country throughout the Empire and consequently at much cheaper rates. The greater part of these manufactures and of the raw silk is exported; and Europe receives the largest share; the rest goes by land and sea to different parts of the Empire.

The extent of silk manufacture and the earnings of the Bengal peasant through this source were considerable. About 1810, Buchanan found in Dinajpore alone 4800 looms engaged in the manufacture of silk cloth, the outturn of which was valued at Rs. 9,60,000.[43] Raja Rajendra Lal Mitra stated, in his journal *Vividartha Sangraha,* that 10 lakhs of people in Bengal were employed in the silk industry, that 140,000 mds. of silk were produced and that Bengal's income in the silk trade was two crores of rupees.[44]

There are two other kinds of worms which produce silk in Bengal, *viz.*, the tussar (Tusseh) and Eri (Arrindy) worms : the former found in such abundance over many parts of Bengal and Assam, as to have afforded the people, from time immemorial, a considerable supply of a most durable, coarse, dark coloured silk, commonly called Tassar silk woven into dhutis and saries. This provided a cheap, light, cool and durable dress. This species cannot be easily domesticated.

The Arrindy silk worm was found in the interior parts of Bengal, in Dinajpore and Rungpore districts, where the peasants reared and bred it in a domestic state, as they did the silk worm. Their cocoons are remarkably soft and white or yellowish, and the filament so exceedingly delicate, as to render it impracticable to wind off the silk. It is therefore spun like cotton. The yarn thus manufactured, is wove into a coarse kind of white cloth, of a seemingly loose texture, but of incredible durability. Eri silk is very durable and is often worn constantly for ten, fifteen or twenty years.

The following table,[45] enumerating the raw silk trade alone during the first three quarters of the last century, is illustrative :

1801	358,825 lbs.
1811	414,404 „
1822	874,228 „
1830	1,736,231 „
1840	1,108,465 „
1851	1,511,506 „
	(av. for 4 years.)
1861	1,485,276 „
1870	1,558,246 „

The flourishing silk trade of Bengal continued right up to the close of the nineteenth century. Early in the present century, the crash came. China and Japan greatly improved their silk manufactures while conditions here remained stagnant due to political and economic hindrances. The import of cheap silk piecegoods increased considerably to the destruction of the Bengal industry. Big silk factories began to be established in the other provinces of India and in the Native States while Bengal stuck on to her old domestic method of production. The *Review of Trade of India,* 1904-05, states, "The exports have steadily diminished, and what was once a trade of some importance is rapidly approaching insignificance."[46] The industry to be destroyed was not of some, but of a very great importance which maintained its existence during two centuries against hard onslaughts and in the midst of a world competition.

(*Concluded*)

40. Celebrooke, *Ibid.* p. 109.
41. S. C. Hill, *Bengal in 1756-57,* Vol. III, p. 216.
42. Orme, *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan,* Vol. II, p. 4.
43. Martin, *History, Antiquity and Topography of Eastern India,* Vol. II, p. 971.
44. R. L. Mitra, *Silpik Darshan,* 1860, pp. 32-33.
45. R. K. Choudhury, *Evolution of Indian Industries,* p. 9.
46. *Review of Trade of India, 1904-05,* p. 38.

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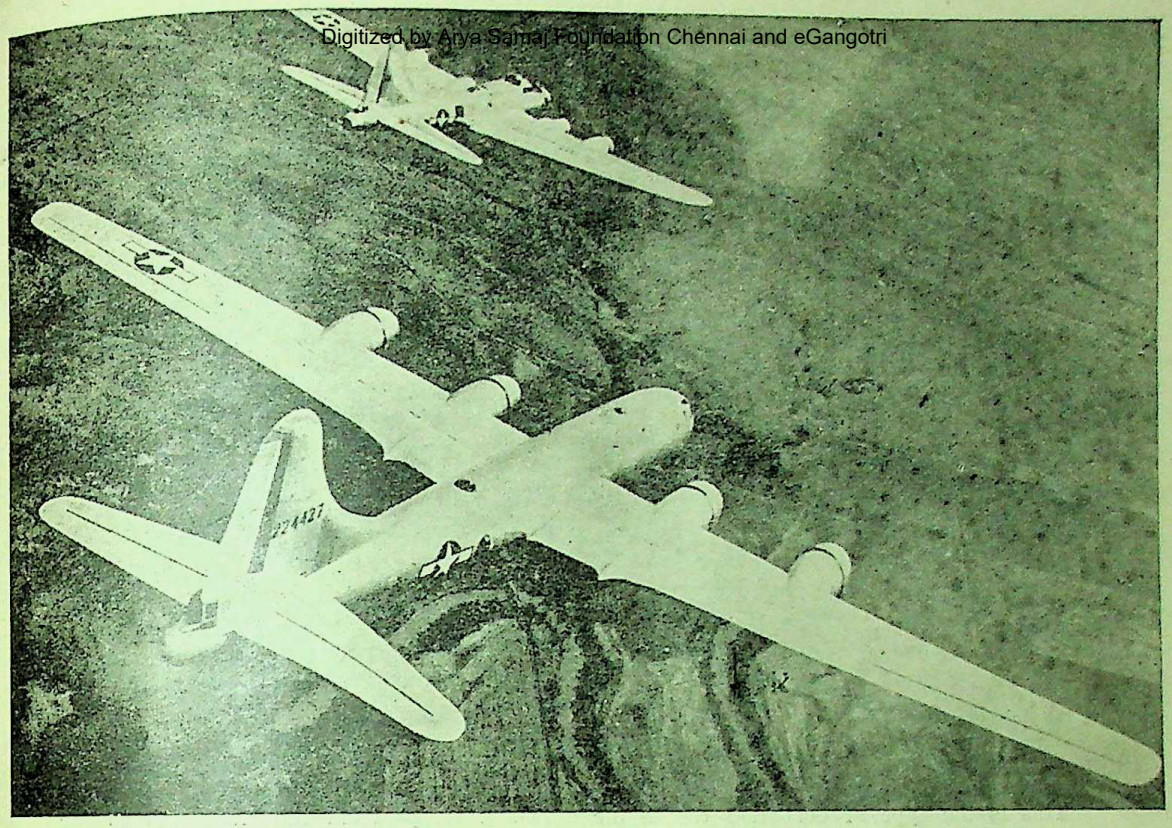
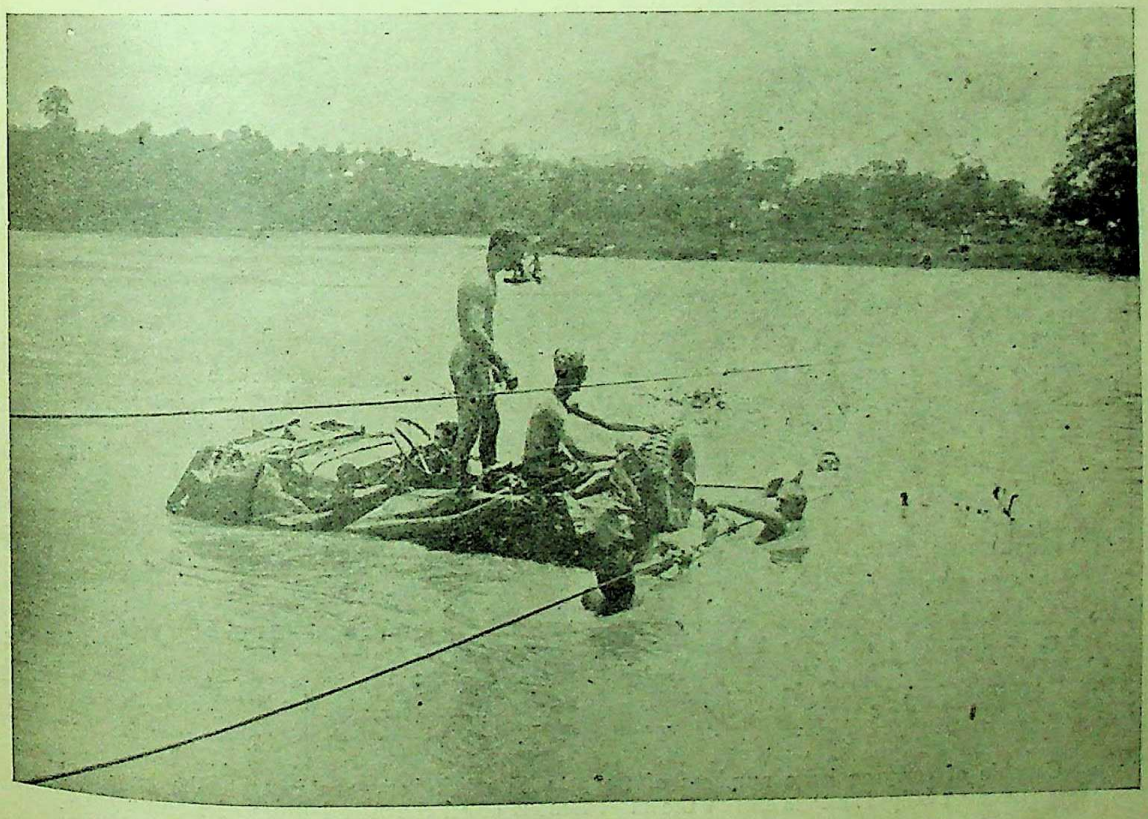


The new U.S. B-29 Superfortress, described as the largest and swiftest of all Allied bombers, will attack from much greater distance and with much more power



A floating jeep crosses the Mogaung River to the town of Kamaing, Burma
Courtesy: USOWI

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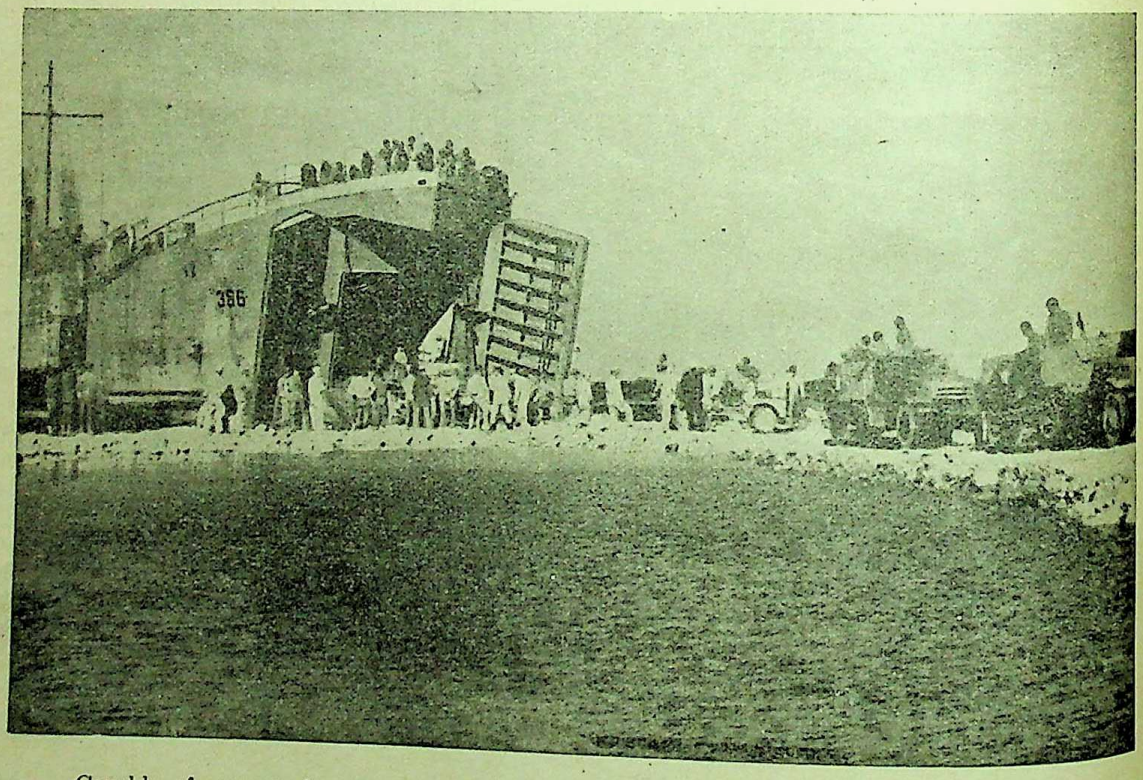
This is the type of boat that carries the attacking troops from the transports to the beachhead in an amphibious operation



Capable of carrying large numbers of troops with much heavy equipment, the huge LST (Landing Ship Tank) has been the most famous of all the Allied types of landing craft

Courtesy: USOWI

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IS CAPITALISM PLAYED OUT?

By D. V. RAMA RAO, M.A., LL.B.

The system of economy which the word Capitalism represents seems to have undergone considerable change since the time it was subjected to severe criticism by the early Communists. Even to-day the term Capitalism is somewhat loosely used and is capable of an elastic interpretation. Thus while the fashion among the orthodox Communists is to describe it as a system based on deliberate exploitation of one class by another for the latter's own benefit, the more rational opinion is coming to view it merely as a system that has been evolved as a result of the unforeseen and uncontrollable forces that were released by the rapid mechanisation of industry coupled with the democratic tradition of laissez-faire *i.e.*, the doctrine of free and uncontrolled commercial enterprise.

However it might be viewed, it is true that a certain amount of exploitation has been found inevitable in the Capitalist system as practised to-day. It must be noted, however, that ever since this fact has come to be realised, progressive opinion all over the world, irrespective of any group interest, has been persistently endeavouring to control and regulate capitalist economy with a view to minimise the evils of exploitation.

There is scarcely a country in the world where the private ambitions of a group or class have not been subjected to meet with the higher interests of national welfare. Although our world has to progress a great deal before distribution can be said to have reached a stage which can be called equitable, yet, there is a marked tendency in most of the countries not only towards communisation of all essential social services but also towards a fairer sharing of all national assets.

Indeed, Capitalist economy to-day has been modified to such an extent as to make Communist criticism look grossly exaggerated. The fact that a good many countries have been able to introduce measures, which can be described as steps in the direction of Socialist economy, without changing their essentially Capitalist pattern only proves that the Capitalist system is not wanting in flexibility.

On the other hand, the Communist experiment in Russia has shown the potentialities for evil inherent in a system which can come into being only as a result of a ruthless class-war and that can be sustained by an equally ruthless dictatorship. The Russian experiment has clearly demonstrated that it is possible for people who raise revolutionary slogans about economic exploitation to have no scruples about political exploitation. This is what Bertrand Russel says in his book *Power* (page 297):

"Those who profess, at the present day, to be Marx's followers, have kept only the half of his doctrine, and have thrown over the demand that the State should be democratic. They have thus concentrated both economic and political power in the hands of an oligarchy, which has become, in consequence, more powerful and more able to exercise tyranny than any oligarchy of former times."

In the same chapter, a few pages after, he further says:

"The dangers of State Socialism divorced from democracy have been illustrated by the course of events in the U.S.S.R. There are those whose attitude to Russia is one of religious faith; to them, it is impious even to examine the evidence that all is not well in that country. But the testimony of former enthusiasts is becoming more and more convincing to those whose minds are open to reason on the subject. The arguments from history and psychology with which we have been concerned in previous chapters have shown how rash it is to expect irresponsible power to be benevolent."

Again (page 305):

"Without democracy, devolution, and immunity from extra-legal punishment, the coalescence of conomic and political power is nothing but a new and apalling instrument of tyranny. In Russia a peasant on a collective farm who takes any portion of the grain that he has himself grown is liable to the death penalty. This law was made at a time when millions of peasants were dying of hunger and attendant diseases owing to the famine which the government deliberately refrained from alleviating."

The experience of the Capitalist countries as well as the result of the Communist experiment in Russia point to the same moral, namely, that human nature is neither so selfless as to completely dispense with the motive of personal interest nor so selfish as to be completely dominated by the profit motive.

It seems, then, that a certain amount of exploitation, whatever economic system we may adopt, is unavoidable in the present level of human character and culture, and that it is not wise to attempt to dispense with the personal profit motive altogether as it is likely to raise its head in some other sphere if suppressed in the realm of commercial enterprise.

People who point out to the Russian Five-Year Plans and the great achievements of Russia and triumphantly declare them to be triumphs of Socialist economy would do well to remember that national plans have almost become a normal feature of most of the countries,

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and that the achievements of Capitalist countries like England and America have been no less striking; nor have been the achievements of Germany and Japan less so. It may also be remembered that Japan which possessed far less material resources, could make an equally impressive march in a single generation without, however, turning Communist.

It is interesting to note that while the Capitalist countries tend to take an increasing interest in the Russian experiment and start to study it with a view to profit both by its achievements as well as its blunders, Russian economy, too, on the other side, tends to be considerably diluted from the orthodox communism as conceived by the early enthusiasts.

There is reason, then to suppose that the existing gulf between Capitalism and Socialism will not be a growing one, in future, but may very well tend to be narrower in view of recent experience gained by both Russia as well as the Capitalist countries. The fond belief, entertained in some quarters, that the outcome of the present war will be Russianisation of the world is perhaps as likely, if not less, as that of Russia turning Capitalist.

People who contend that Capitalism will necessarily lead to Imperialism and war forget that there have been highly developed Capitalist countries like Sweden and Switzerland which have continued to be free from Imperial ambitions and which, indeed, may well serve as models in this respect for the future nations. It may be noted that it is national ambition and national rivalry rather than Capitalism that have largely been responsible for the growth of Imperialism and that have led to two world conflagrations in a single generation. Just as nations are learning not to allow Capitalist enterprise to grow to the extent of interfering with the higher interest of national welfare, it may be hoped, that the lessons of this war as well as the last will pave the way for the future nations to restrict their national ambitions so as not to come into conflict with the higher ideal of international welfare.

Capitalism, it may also be noted, has not necessarily proved an obstacle either in the spread of nationalism or democracy while the same cannot be said of Communism; for like most other doctrines which prove revolutionary in one set of circumstances Communism too can easily become reactionary in another set of circumstances. It is significant that Russia under Stalin, to-day, is not only drifting from its early Communism to a more liberal Socialism but is building up a sturdy nationalism.

India, which has yet to go a long way before she can be said to have reached a national status that can assure her a worthy place in the comity of nations, can hardly afford to fritter away her limited energies on amateurish ideologies. Commercial enterprises on a scale such as the Ford's in America, Imperial Chemical Industries in England and Tata's in India,—to mention a few among others—which have proved national assets, bear testimony to the opportunities for individual talent and enterprise which Capitalism affords. In a backward nation like India where the greatest need is one of raising the low standard of living, to concentrate on production becomes a primary duty. Viewed against this background the recent Plan for the Economic Development of India sponsored by Sir Purushottam Das and the six other able authors assumes additional importance. The stray criticism levelled against this economic plan, describing it as a Fascist one, is largely due to the confusion resulting from failure to grasp the significance of the changes that have come over the world since the time of Marx. It may not be out of place, here, to point out that both the Fascist as well as the Communist plans are essentially production plans and not far different from one another.

As has been pointed out, the Capitalist system has already undergone considerable change and is likely to undergo greater changes in future. It is, however, too early to describe Capitalism as either a system outliving its utility or a force that is played out.

HEINRICH HEINE

By M. K. PANDE, B.A.

Heine occupies a wonderful place among the nineteenth century poets of Germany. Poetry was to him not an elaborate and painful toil, but a spontaneous utterance. So diverse and varied are his compositions that his poetic genius seems to be unique. But of all his works it is in romance that he especially excels. Let us examine the following:

Die Luft ist Kuhl und es dunkelt,
Und ruhig fliesst der Rhein
Der Gipfel des Berges funkelt
Im Abendsonnenschein.

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The air is cool—it is getting dark. The Rhine is gliding smoothly. The tops of the mountains are tipped with the gold of the setting sun.

He goes further on :

Die schonste jinyfrau sitzet
Dort oben wunderbar,
Ihr goldenes geschmeide blitzet,
Sie kammt ihr goldenes Haar.

A lovely maiden is sitting up there, and her golden ear-rings are glistening. She is combing her golden hair.

It is impossible to bring out the freshness and charm of the poem in the prose of a foreign language, and "the attempt to do so would be like gathering up dew-drops, which appear jewels and pearls on the grass, but run into water in the hand; the essence and the elements remain, but the grace, the sparkle and the form are gone."

Every word of this poem has got, what L. Abercrombie calls the power of "incantation" —a sweet and enchanting effect which one experiences while studying the best works of the great masters. The success of Heine lies in the fact that he makes his world ours, his experiences ours, his thoughts, emotions, sensations, passions a part and parcel of our own being. He is capable of lifting us above ourselves into the region of the pure-serene, which Longinus calls the sublime. Like Goethe he does not take us through the metaphysical mazes, nor like Schiller he ravishes us with the sheer charm of the poetic diction, but he delights us with an imaginative description of love, joy, tears which constitute the very stuff of poetry. He was not a poet-philosopher, but merely a poet to whom this world was not the baseless fabric of a vision, but something quite real and sound. Let us look at the third stanza of his famous poem, "The Lorelei":

Sie kammt es nit goldenem Kamme,
Und singt ein Leid dabei;
Das hat eine wundersame
Gewaltige Melodei.

She is combing her tresses with the golden comb and is singing a song—that has a sweet and compelling melody.

This little poem is full of what A. C. Bradley calls "the aesthetic experience"—an experience too fine and intangible to be put in the language of prose. So long we are in touch with Heine, we seem to be moving in a different world altogether, a world which is independent, complete and autonomous. As a poet of nature also Heine is no less great :

Die blauen Fruhlingsaugen
Schaun aus dem grass herror;
Das sind die lieben Weilchen
Die ich zum strauss erkor.

The blue violet flowers are peeping out of the grass, it seems as if Spring is looking at the world with her blue eyes.

It is such a lovely image that forces itself on our attention irresistibly. Also—

Im wunderschonen monat mai,
Als alle vogel sangen,
Als alle knospen sprangen.

In the leafy month of May, when all the new buds break and birds do sing . . . . .

So, on the one hand we see the rain-bow hue of romance, on the other a fresh breath of the loveliness of nature, seen in the poetic world of Heine.

Heine's patriotism also is worth noting. He says :

Deutschland hat ewigen Bestand,
Es ist ein kerngesundes land !
Mit seinen Eichen, seinen Linden,
Werde ich es immer wieder finden.

For ages Germany will stand. It is the most healthy land, with its oaks and lime trees. I shall always find it such.

How different is this healthy patriotism from the chauvinism and jingoism that has proved, and is yet proving to be, the bane not only of Germany, but of the whole world !

Germany had not gone chauvinistic during Heine's days. It was about six years after his death that Prince Bismarck became the Chancellor of Wilhem I. It is really from the date of Bismarck's accession to power that the history of modern Germany begins. Hence there is no trace in Heine's works of that baptism of fire which was to come later. Germany then was not a great power, as Heine says :

Deutschland ist noch ein kleines Kind.

Germany is still a small child.

Although Germany was a small child in Heine's time, nevertheless there were signs that augured well for her future greatness. In his famous poem *Deutschland,* he says :

Deutschland ist noch ein kleines Kind,
Doch die Sonne ist seine amme,
Sie saugt es nicht mit stiller Milch,
Sie saugt es mit wilder flamme.

Germany is still a child, but the sun is his nurse, and she will feed him not on weak milk, but on the wild flames of fire.

There were signs and portents in the apparently dull grey political horizon of Germany, which Heine could not fail to see with his poetic vision. The lull was but the harbinger of the great thunderstorm that was to break over the head of Europe from across the Rhine. Within ten years of his death, Germany annexed Sieswig and Holstein from Denmark, achieved a glorious victory at the battle of Sadowa and gave a thundering knock-out blow to France. Within ten years of his death, the 'little child' to whom Heine refers in the poem, was to acquire a Herculean strength and amaze the world. Thus the poem quoted above has a prophetic ring about it.

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His outlook on life was optimistic like that of his contemporary Robert Browning and unlike that of Thomas Hardy. The following quotation will amply bear it out:

Herz, mun herz, sei nicht beklommen,
Und ertrage dein Geschick,
Neur Fruhling geift zuruck
Was der winter dir genommen.

O my heart, cease repining, the winter will pass away and spring with all its hopes will come.

Such was Heine—the poet.

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF GANDHISM*

By Prof. P. A. WADIA

Prof. Dantwala whose earnestness and devotion to his country have been as much in evidence of recent years as his scholarship, attempts in this small and unambitious brochure to give us an analysis and interpretation of the economic teachings of Gandhiji. He sets this interpretation in the background of world events. Thought on social questions is making rapid strides, and whilst accepting the basic values of socialism Prof. Dantwala undertakes a reassessment of Marxism in the light of the social and economic changes of the last three quarters of a century. This reassessment leads him to a defence and appreciation of Gandhiji's economic thought. Marx, he says, was the prophet of an age ushered in by the Industrial Revolution. Gandhiji is the prophet of the age of Fascism and Totalitarianism. The days in which Marx wrote his *Capital* and issued the famous Manifesto were days when the working classes were ground into the dust and the mire, when millions lived in squalor and misery, disease-ridden and destined to early death, and without a share in culture and education. Socialism was the clarion call which brought a new hope and a new vision to the world's weary and heavy-laden.

The war of 1914-18 seemed to proclaim the breakdown of capitalism. Capitalism appeared to be dying by the denial of its two fundamental assumptions of private enterprise and the profit motive. The peace of 1919 however marked the triumph of European bourgeoisie in maintaining the established social and economic order. The French Press clamoured a few days after the German Army had crossed the Rhine for giving Ludendorf carte blanche to strangle the new freedom in Russia. Even Great Britain, where men protest with vehemence that they desire to maintain the old liberties, witnessed the same people banding themselves together to restrict freedom, and anxious to maintain worn-out systems of credit and exchange in order that material well-being may be confined to their class alone. Everywhere men are found to lament the growth of atheism and while they offer lip worship to a religion of brotherly love, engage in the blasphemy of keeping millions of brothers in conditions appropriate to animals and prepare for the slaughters of their neighbours by bombing planes and dreadnoughts.

The happenings in Spain and Abyssinia and China in the years that preceded 1939 revealed a social ecoomic order in Europe based on colossal greed and ruthless exploitation. The war of 1939 witnessed again to the moral bankruptcy of a world in which National Socialism, Fascism and Communism alike are attempting to pay off the crimes of democracy—shall we call them the failure of democracy?—in allowing untold numbers of longing, aspiring humanity to sink into ever deeper misery and degradation. Fascism and Communism have demonstrated the possibility of organising the masses. Are these masses to be organised on a basis of fear or social confidence? Dictatorship and terror are built on fear. Prof. Dantwala tells us that with the giant machines of our present age we can only have a dictatorship of giant experts and technicians. He recognises that with the socialisation of the instruments of production the *de jure* ownership will pass into the hands of the workers; but he maintains that the very size of the instruments will put the manager in complete control of them. Bureaucracy and dictatorship would thus appear to be the inevitable concomitants of an age of large-scale production. He, however, visualises in the alternative, a society in which the instruments are so simplified that the common man can ply them and understand them, and he believes that this alternative is the only effective way in which the State will finally wither away and the Marxian dream fulfilled. Gandhiji is the great exponent of this atlernative method; it involves not the condemnation of machinery as such, but its simplification and socialisation and is linked up with the conception of trusteeship in the enjoyment of property rights by the individual, which may ward off the necessity for revolution and the use of violence.

How far will the owners of property under a capitalist organisation grow alive to a sense of their trusteeship? The history of individualistic ownership of property in Americą has been a history of speculation in land, or the construction of rail roads or the manufacture of steel—the concentration of wealth without the slightest respect for the legal and moral rights of the millions. But, says Prof. Dantwala, the principle of trusteeship is a part of the technique of non-violence. Gandhiji would plead with capitalists voluntarily to submit themselves to the discipline of trusteeship. Show them the right course, give them a chance to mend their way. If that succeeds evil will be ended. It may be possible to avoid the use of violence and revolutionary methods by good will: for the evil of our days is not the abuse of the privileges of property, but the absence of a planned, co-ordinated and persistent social effort for the betterment of the conditions of human life which is implied in the ownership of property by the individual. This evil can only be removed by social control and ownership of the instruments of production.

Prof. Dantwala has compressed in this small volume the fruits of prolonged study and in this interpretation of Gandhism has brought to bear a sympathetic insight as well as a creative judgment.

* *Gandhism Reconsidered:* By Prof. M. L. Dantwala. Padma Publications, Ltd., Bombay.

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review* But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, *The Modern Review.*

ENGLISH

CHANDRAGUPTA MAURYA AND HIS TIMES: *By Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D. Published by the University of Madras, 1943. Pages 414.*

This work represents the Sir William Meyer Lectures which the author delivered in the Madras University in October, 1941. The author has dealt with the career of the great Emperor Chandragupta and has given a short account of the administration, the army, social and economic conditions and the legal system prevailing in his age.

In delineating his life the author has discussed in detail the various sources, both indigenous and foreign. He has refuted the idea that Chandragupta belonged to a low caste and discussed the various theories about it. In discussing the administrative system he has principally relied on the Arthasastra of Kautilya. It is well-known that most scholars in the present time do not accept the view that the Arthasastra was composed in the time of Chandragupta Maurya. The author, however, holds the contrary view and believes that this unique text depicts the condition of the time in which Chandragupta lived. This problem is not treated in detail in this book but the author has in his previous works discussed this question and shown a number of grounds in support of his view. He has elaborately dealt with the various aspects of law and administration with the help of ample materials supplied by the Arthasastra, and his book may be regarded in the main as an elaborate exposition of that work. The author has, of course, also treated the Greek sources in detail and compared the data supplied by them with those of Arthasastra. On the whole the author has succeeded in placing before the readers all the important materials bearing on the subject. He has also devoted a short section on the coins of the period.

There are several appendices to the work dealing with (1) Chanakya and Chandragupta Traditions (Buddhist and Jaina) and (2) Parallelism between Asoka's Edicts and Kautilya's Arthasastra. The get-up and the printing of the work are excellent. As the first great Indian emperor who aimed at the ideal of an all-India empire and succeeded to a great extent in achieving it the life and times of Chandragupta cannot fail to evoke interest in all Indians who have a regard for the past of their country. The book under review is, therefore, bound to be a popular one and will enable even those who are not professed students of history to gain a fair idea of a glorious epoch in the history of ancient India.

R. C. Majumdar

MEN AND SUPERMEN OF HINDUSTHAN: *By Joachim Alva. Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay, 1943. Pages 408. Price Rs. 11.*

Joachim Alva, the author of this handsome khadi-clad volume, is an Indian Christian Nationalist from he West Coast, who as a student threw himself into the vortex of the Congress movement in Bombay during those stormy days of "War Councils" and "Dictators", and was imprisoned. Since then his contacts with the public life of this country have been deep and varied, wide and intimate. In the tantalizing solitude and suggestive confinement of the prison-cell, the author recapitulates the fast-moving drama of India's political struggles and draws some exquisite pen-pictures of the principle actors and actresses on the stage. Gandhi and Tagore, Azad and Jinnah, Motilal and Jawaharlal, Mahomed Ali and Ambedkar, Andrews and Horniman, Naidu and Mira Ben, Radhakrishnan, Raman and Gidney are some of the couple of dozen personalities that cross the author's mind in an impressive array, representing almost every sphere of national activity and every section of political thought, who have influenced, for good or evil, the destinies of this country during the last three decades.

Alva's sketches will easily remind the reader of A. G. Gadriner's *Prophets, Priests and Kings,* which remains even to-day the model for pen-picture artists. Alva's political zeal and literary acumen combine to make his essays informative as well as interesting. He does not pretend to cover the achievements of a life-time within the compass of a few pages, but has attempted to assess the true role of his supermen in India's national life, ignoring other facets of their personality and creativities. Even Tagore and Uday Shankar are seen in this perspective. The only measuring rod the author employs is how far these personages have advanced India's political status and rehabilitated India's national dignity. This does not, however, mean that Alva is indifferent to the cultural movements and social revolutions that have influenced, even more deeply than political agitations, the national consciousness of the people, much less to the visions and ideologies in which every fresh generation is being nurtured. In fact, looking at the gallery of his "Men and Supermen," one gets a fairly complete picture of the variegated background of India's contemporary national life. The author has a remarkable gift for story-telling. Anecdotes and personal reminiscences enlivened with sparkling wit lend absorbing interest to his sketches. Certain misquotations are, however, to be regretted, and from his numerous references to "Anand Bhuban" (sic) and "Mani Bhuban" (sic), it is difficult to infer that they are printing mistakes.

Manindramohan Moulik

URBAN MORALS IN ANCIENT INDIA: *By S. L. Ghosh. Published by Sushil Gupta. Price Re. 1-8, Calcutta.*

The book under review is the result of the author's wide study of the subject In it he has reviewed the science of Love in Ancient India on the background of its contemporary history. He has also tried successfully to present to his readers a faithful picture of the sex life of a society during the time of Vatsyayana. The chapter on the origins and times of Vatsyayana is learned and comprehensive. It may be mentioned in this connection that a learned edition of the 'Kamasutra'

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of Vatsyayana is yet an urgent necessity for the reconstruction of the fallen monument of Indian erotic Science.

SAROJENDRANATH BHANJA and S. C. MITRA.

LANGUAGE POLICY OF ALL-INDIA RADIO: *By R. S. Shukla. Published by the Provincial Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, U. P., Allahabad. Pp. 192. Price Rs. 2-8.*

The propagation of highly Persianised Urdu under the deceptive name of *Hindustani* and the step-motherly treatment meted out to Hindi—even in the Province with a Hindi-speaking majority—has been a source of constant resentment among the Hindi-speaking people. The feeling is as wide-spread as genuine. The book under review throws a flood of light on the language-policy of the A.I.R. and exposes its real character with the help of facts and figures, showing the comparative difference between the various items broadcast in Hindi and Urdu, as well as their respective staff, listeners and members of the local advisory committees.

In his preface to the book, Sjt. Sampurnanand, Ex-Minister for Education in the U.P., has rightly characterised the activities of the A.I.R. as being "dictated by a definite pro-Urdu and anti-Hindi policy". The notable example he has cited is: "The death of Sri Ramanand Chatterji was announced as "Ramanand Chatterji Surga-bash ho gaye" which, translated literally, means that Ramanand Chatterji has become *residence* in Surga, this word being the A.I.R. version of the Sanskrit word Swarga (heaven)."

Want of space prevents us from quoting more of such funny examples. We, however, do not find ourselves in entire agreement with all the arguments advanced by the author but the facts and figures collected by him go to show that the position of the A.I.R. authorities with regard to their language-policy is wholly unjustified and absolutely indefensible. It is high time that they revise this policy and remove the just complaint.

M. S. SENGAR

INDIAN LABOUR AND POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION: *By Com. M. N. Roy. Published by Radical Democratic Party, 30, Faiz Bazar, Delhi. Pp. 58. Price Re. 1.*

In this small book Com. Roy has emphasised the necessity of counting Indian Labour factor as the most important one in Post-War World Reconstruction in which India shall be an important constituent. Capitalistic methods must give way to socialistic production and distribution if reconstruction is to avoid pit-falls of the last Post-World-War attempts. Purchasing power and the standard of life of the Indian peasants must increase. Means of production should be taken out of the hands of private owners. To achieve his ideals, the author advises the Government to take up the cause of labour and do away with the middle-men and the capitalists who stand in the midway, because these classes are creating troubles in the war-efforts during the present war and will cause further trouble in Post-War Reconstruction. Even the "Scorched Earth" policy is supported by the author. It may be noted that Com. Roy is appealing to an Imperialistic and Capitalistic Government for attainment of socialism in preference to his own countrymen other than the peasants and industrial workers.

Evidently this book has propaganda value in favour of the Indian Federation of Labour which has been set up by Com. Roy against All-India Trade Union Congress, when the latter declined to lend its support to the war efforts—the war being characterised as Imperialistic and in support of the domination of subject nations.

A. B. DUTTA

MUSINGS OF BASAVA: *By Prof. S. S. Basavanal, M.A., and Prof. K. Ry. Srinivasa Iyengar, M.A., D.Litt., Lingaraj College, Belgaum (South India). Published by the authors. Pp. 128. Price Re. 1.*

Basava, we are told, was one of India's outstanding religious teachers, a great statesman and also a man of letters. His *vachanas* (or sayings) started a literary tradition unique in Kannada literature. In this book we have a free rendering of some of those sayings into English.

We do not know how far the reputation of Basava travelled beyond the boundaries of his native district or province. The authors of this book perhaps have made him more famous than he was before. And as to the worth of the translation, no opinion can be expressed without a comparison with the original. Those who read both will be in a better position to judge. The authors' status in the academic world, however, compels us to think that it is a good translation.

But we have a small grievance. One of the joint authors is a professor of English. Yet there are so many un-English words in the Introduction to the book that one who knows only English will not understand half of it. If all those words are untranslateable into English, then why write in English at all? Again, sometimes the authors' English itself seems to be un-English. Such words as *recordation* (cf. "recordation of the vibrations of his soul etc." p. 16) and *wordable* (cf. "strain the limits of the wordable", p. 28) are needless coinages, if permissible at all. And "need not necessarily" (p. 19) has an excess of words. When one writes in English one should remember that the King's English has a right to remain pure. It ought not to be a jumble of words from all languages interspersed with freely coined new words and phrases.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

THE SECRET OF HINDU SANGATHAN: *By Swami Dharma Theerthaji Maharaj, President, Hindu Missionary Society. Published by Har Bhagwan, Hony. Secretary, Hindu Missionary Society, Krishnanagar, Lahore. Price Re. 1.*

In this little book of 48 pages, the Venerable Swamiji has advocated that the ideal of Hindu Sangathan must be based on religious and social service and it must be founded on fundamental religious truths and vital social needs of the Hindus. The Hindus should organise as free men and pledge their hands and hearts to the service of their common ancestral home and the re-building of a great and free nation in which the Hindus, the Muslims, the Christians, the Sikhs and all others shall mingle their efforts and aspirations for love, prosperity and righteousness bringing abiding victory and peace to all. The book is well-written and deserves careful consideration by all lovers of truth who desire to work for freedom, justice and equity and are prepared to share a common citizenship and national life with the Muslims, the Christians and others who constitute the nation.

JITENDRA NATH BOSE

THE SHIP DOCKS: *By Shankaran Palat. Published by K. Krishna Iyer Bros., Trichur (Madras). Price 2s. 6d.*

Mr. Palat plans his story in such a way that he has scope for introducing a lot of stray incidents into the journey that he makes Peter Meston undertake. The young son of a baron, Peter goes to Oxford; he is lively and full of fun there. A woman's delight, Peter has a few idiosyncrasies—as easily as he bids good bye to Anita for her jealousy and meddlesomeness, he loves and leaves Paula for consideration of prestige and money. Misunderstanding between Peter and his parents at large, he stages a silent walk out from the family. Peter now goes on a voyage

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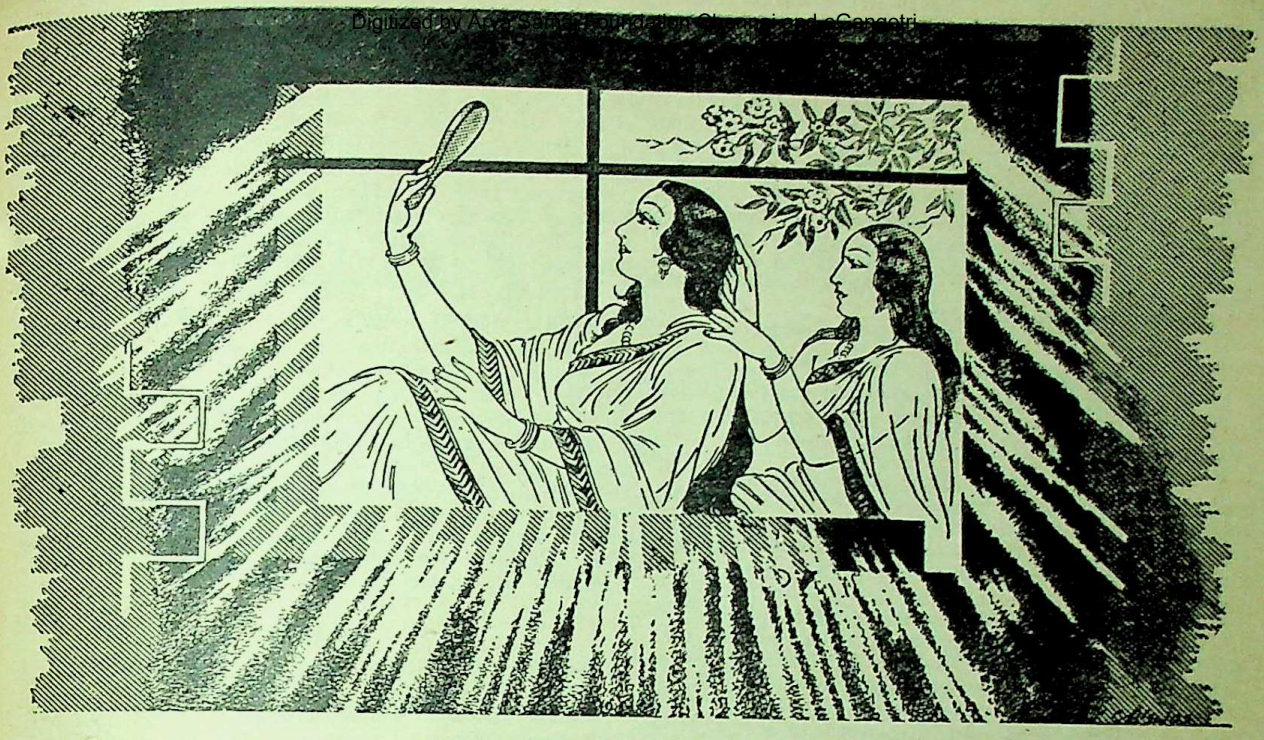

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over the world. At this stage the book is a dull reading; however, Mr. Palat has endeavoured to brighten up the atmosphere with the presence of Rosemary. Peter returns home, joins a newspaper, and later walks up to the Parliament with the support of the paper. He now longs to see Paula and marry her, but to his utter disappointment he finds Paula already married. Poetic justice is lost sight of, the affairs stand more disappointingly realistic than the "real". It is really tiresome and unromantic to follow up the details of Peter's transference of love from Anita to Paula, and then from Paula to Rosemary.

SANTOSH CHATTERJEE

ENGLISH-BENGALI

IMPERIAL LIBRARY : AUTHOR CATALOGUE OF PRINTED BOOKS IN BENGALI LANGUAGE : *Vol. I A-F, Vol. II G-L.*

The authorities of the Imperial Library are to be congratulated on having brought out two decent volumes of this catalogue, which was a long-felt want and which will be of particular help to those engaged in compiling the history of Bengali literature. We wait with eagerness for the completion of the catalogue at an early date.

The method of spelling proper names adopted in the catalogue seems in some cases to be hideous, *viz.*, Bankim has been spelt as Vankim, Amalchandra Home as Amalcandra Homa, Brajendra as Vrajendra. Some of the books, which bear no name of the author in their title-pages, have been wrongly ascribed to some other authors; for instance. 'Kautuk-kana' and 'Bangali-charit' of Jogendra Chandra Basu, the founder of the Bengali weekly *Bangabasi*, have been entered under the name of Indranath Banerjee.

BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJEE.

SANSKRIT-HINDI

BHAKTIRATNAVALI OF VISNUPURI GOSWAMIN: *Editor and translator Rai Mahendranath Lahiri Bahadur, Retired Postmaster-General, Bihar and Orissa. To be had of Rabindranath Lahiri, M.A., B.L., 17, Dover Lane, Ballygunge, Calcutta. Demy 8vo., Pages 2 + 244 + 7. Price Re. 1.*

This is a popular edition of the *Bhaktiratnavali*, an anthological work containing a selection of verses, chiefly from the *Bhagavatapurana* (with at least two verses, III. 32, V., 45, from the *Haribhaktisudhodaya*) pertaining to *bhakti* or devotion to Krishna. The work divided into 12 sections is stated to have been composed in 1633 A.D. In the present edition the text of every verse is accompanied by a running Hindi translation and by Sanskrit meanings of the words arranged in a prose order. One would miss the author's own commentary on the work called the *Kantimala*, a good edition of which would have been a very welcome feature of the book. Sources of the verses have generally been indicated. It is, however, a matter of regret that inaccuracies, apparently due to the printer's devil, were noticed in these indications here and there. As regards the text proper, one verse which occurs twice in the edition of the work in the Sacred Books of the Hindus Series (I. 46, XIII. 5) is omitted here in chapter I, but without assigning any reason. The source of I. 105 has not been indicated in either of the two editions.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

HINDI

SHAILLEYA : *By 'Barua', compiled by Mahavir Adhikari. Rishi-Prachi-Pratichi, Delhi. Pp. 168. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This is a collection of ten short stories, the subject and style of which are too patently realistic. Every now and then the reader is 'shocked' into dangerous and dynamic thinking by the challenging presentation of the working and ways of the mind of woman, against the background of the transitional period through which society is passing at present. Somehow in several stories the reviewer found the current or chain of circumstance more frozen like the stone than fluid like the stream; also the realism creating a feeling of revolution. The book, no doubt, breaks new ground, but it will be for time alone to show what will shoot up in the ploughed plot. Maybe, the undersigned has not been able to get into the writer's frame of mind.

ANTAR KI BAT: *By Radhakrishna Prasada. Pustaka Bhandara, Patna. Pp. 166. Price Re. 1-4.*

Twenty-five short stories, centred round the various aspects and expressions of our social life and 'shot through' with the red strand of psycho-analysis. As such, they are highly suggestive, but the young writer—a young graduate—has succeeded skilfully in sustaining, what may be characterized as the spirit of delicacy and dignity. His observation of emotional and mental reactions to incidents and attitudes is sympathetically critical, as his style has the vividness of veracity. Over and again, while reading the stories, the reader is reminded of master Russian story-writers.

G. M.

TELUGU

SOVIET RUSSIA : *Pp. 71. Price annas twelve.*
BOLSHEVISM : *Pp. 29. Price annas four.*
NEW LIFE MOVEMENT IN CHINA: *Pp. 32. Price annas four.*
PAKISTAN : *Pp. 29. Price annas four. Published by the Cultural Book Club, Madras.*

These phamplets are translations of well-known English versions. Students of politics would welcome these popular editions in their own mother-tongue.

PATA PATALU: *By T. Kameswar Rao. Published by Navyasahitya Parishat, Guntur. Pp. 45. Price annas eight only.*

This is a collection of old popular songs. These folk songs would be very much appreciated by all. The author attempts to revive interest in old traditions, beliefs and customs of Andhradesa.

K. V. SUBBA RAO.

GUJARATI

APANUN HINDUSTAN : *Translated by Purushottam Trikamdas. Published by the Oxford University Press, Bombay. Cardboard cover. Pp. 148. Illustrated. Price Rs. 2. (1943).*

This is a Gujarati translation of Minoo Masani's English book *Our India*. The translator is a Nationalist, as ardent as Minoo Masani, and has done his work well, preserving the spirit of the original, which is a very informative and laborious work, giving all the information of the past and present condition of our country, economical, moral, agricultural, commercial, and industrial. It is a welcome addition to Gujarati Literature.

SURAT: *Parts I-II, M. J. Pathakji, M.A., LL.B., Professor of History and Economics, Bahauddin College, Junagadh. Published by the Baroda Government. Thick cardboard. Pp. 230. Price annas eight each (1943).*

Surat has been famous in history, as it happened to be the gateway for Mecca for the Mahommedans and the scene of the first entry of the European Powers into India. Its varied and chequered career, its glory and splendour now faded, the intelligence and luxury-loving nature of its inhabitants, and every other phase of their character has been so well put and in such detail, that it is likely to prove a model work for the purpose for which it has been prepared, *viz.* to form a flower in the garland of the Sayaji series of books for juveniles.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

John Dalton
1766-1844

Exactly a century ago, on the 27th July, 1844, John Dalton, the founder of the atomic theory, passed away from this world P. Ray writes in *Science and Culture*:

Though one of the greatest scientists of the world Dalton was not less so as a man. For, he was not born with a silver spoon in his mouth; and it was by means of sheer perseverance, selfless devotion, firm determination, ceaseless labour and untiring struggle against many adverse circumstances that he rose to the high position in life—a position not of wealth, of course, but a far nobler one of benefiting mankind. Though rich in fame he always remained poor in worldly wealth. His habits were extremely simple and unassuming; he never cared for money and devoted himself unreservedly to the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake.

Dalton was born in 1766 in a thatched cottage of a humble family in the village of Englesfield in Cumberland. His father Joseph Dalton was a handloom weaver.

Between 11 and 12 years of age he opened a school in his father's barn for children of both sexes. At 15 he left his native village and walked about 40 miles to join his brother's school at Kendal where he worked as a teacher with his brother for 12 years. During this period he was also engaged in self-improvement and self-education. By hard and unremitting toil he became a good mathematician and acquainted himself with the work of Newton, as well as those of other English and Continental men of science. In 1793 he came to Manchester as a teacher in Manchester Academy (Manchester New College) and earned £80 only for a session of 9 months. For six years he served as a tutor in this college teaching mathematics and natural philosophy. He then resigned and devoted himself to scientific enquiry earning his bread by private tuition which provided him with sufficient means to meet his small needs. He continued with this mode of life till his death in 1844. At the same time he was always meditating and experimenting upon the composition of air and constitution of gases, which led to his discovery of the Law of Thermal Expansion of Gases with which his own name is associated with that of Gay Lussac. He also studied the absorption of gases in liquids and as a result thereof formulated the Law of Partial Pressure, also associated with the name of Henry. To him we owe further the discovery that gases are heated by compression and cooled by expansion against pressure.

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In 1800, he became the Secretary of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, of which he was elected President in 1817 and continued as such until his death.

He had his laboratory in the house of the Society, and his diary and manuscripts still remain in their possession. The Society also published most of his scientific papers. The Law of Multiple Proportions resulted from his examination of the composition of marsh gas and ethylene, as well as of oxides of nitrogen. For, he found that when two substances combine they do so in simple multiples of whole numbers. He showed that atomic conception of matter could satisfactorily account for all the physical properties of gases studied by him, as well as the Law of Constant Proportion formulated by Proust and that of Multiple Proportion by him. He thus adduced experimental evidences for the first time in support of the Atomic Theory of Matter.

The fundamental assumptions of Dalton's Atomic Theory can be stated as follows:

(1) Every elementary substance is made up of minute indivisible homogeneous particles called atoms. (2) Each kind of atom possesses a definite and constant weight. (3) Chemical combination takes place between atoms.

It may be said that through the formulation of Atomic Theory Dalton provided the final and absolute proof regarding the conservation of matter, and that his service to chemistry is on a par with that of Newton to astronomy.

Dalton was invited to deliver a series of lectures at the Royal Institution in London in 1803-4 when he publicly anounced for the first time the discovery of the Atomic Theory and the Law of Combination in Multiple Proportions. Dalton was invited to deliver lectures also at Glasgow, Edinburgh and other places and received scientific honours from almost all parts of the world. In 1816 he was made an Associate of the French Academy—the highest dignity awarded to any foreigner. In 1822 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society and in 1826 the first Royal Medal of the Society was awarded to him.

With the simplest possible apparatus that can ever be imagined Dalton achieved results of far-reaching consequence. A penny ink-bottle closed by a cork with a tube fixed in it, a couple of ordinary apothecary's scale and one or two thermometers serve as typical examples of the apparatus in his stock.

His habits were very simple, methodical and uniform. He practically spent every day all his time in the laboratory except on Thursday afternoon, when he would play a game of bowls with his friends and afterwards refresh himself with a pipe of tobacco. He was a very early riser and would repair immediately to his laboratory. Dalton lived a single life and used to say, when questioned by friends, that he had no time to marry.

With utter contempt for wealth Dalton lived a life of self-imposed poverty. Late in life he was relieved from the drudgery of his tuition and the worry of earning his bread by a Royal Grant of £150/-, afterwards raised to £300/- per annum.

Dalton was held in great esteem and love by his countrymen, specially by the people of Manchester who already raised in his life-time a sum of £2,000/- for his statue.

Jan Ignace Paderewski

PIANIST-STATESMAN OF POLAND

Paderewski was to Poland what Tagore was to India. J. M. D'Souza observes in *The Calcutta Review*:

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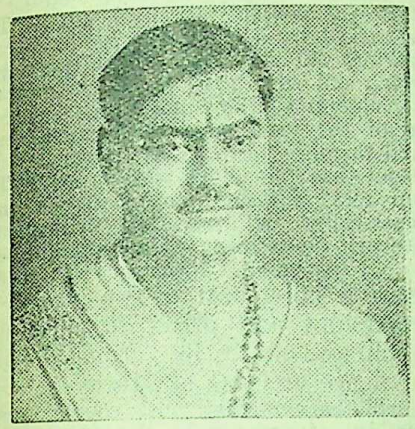

RAJ JYOTISHI, JYOTISH-SHIROMANI PANDIT RAMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA, JYOTISHARNAV, M.R.A.S. (LONDON) of International fame, President—World-Renowned All-India Astrological & Astronomical Society.

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This world-renowned pianist and one of the most characterised his performances were no doubt eminent international figures of the last fifty years, passed away on June 2, 1941, thus preceding our Rabindranath Tagore by a little more than a month. Like Tagore, Paderewski too was a highly versatile and creative genius—pianist, composer, linguist, educationist, orator, statesman, and above all, a true patriot. Like Tagore, again, he touched nothing that he did not adorn.

It is a pleasure to recall that at the Peace Table at Versailles he was one of the few statesmen who could speak with equal force and accuracy in several tongues. It is generally believed that a musician cannot be a politician, and a politician canont be a musician. But Paderewski combined both music and politics with amazing success and he was known to the world as 'Pianist-Statesman' or 'Premier-Paderewski'. He is said to have once described his friend as "a dear soul playing the Polo" and himself as *"a poor Pole* playing the solo."

Paderwski was born on November 6, 1860. His father was a versatile amateur artist—he played the violin, he painted, and practised sculpture. His mother began to instruct him in his piano lessons at the age of three.

These early foundations were later built upon by some seven other best teachers of the time. Paderewski first played to the public at the age of 27 in Vienna, in 1887. He appeared in Paris in 1888, in London in 1890, and in New York in 1891. At the early age of about 28, he was quite an equal of Rubinstein, and played "marvellously" and with "such power and with such tender feeling." His success was rapid and tremendous, and it will be interesting to know that a concert in London rarely brought in less than 1,000. It is needless to say that in America he fared better still.

He dramatised the entire Piano Literature in a way which moved millions.

The charm and excellence which always brought about by hard work and exhaustive study.

For years he practised for ten and twelve hours a day, and at a new repertoire he would work as much as sixteen hours a day. He held that "there is no absolute rhythm." and pressed for discretional power and freedom in the domain of the art of performance. "To be emotional in musical intepretation, yet obedient to the initial tempo," he says, "means as much as being sentimental in engineering." The orthodox critics barked for a while but had at last to yield to the master, who by dint of highly enriched orchestral effects and superb tone-colour held the musical world spell-bound. His innovations were convincing because of the logic and "single-mindedness" of purpose behind them.

His was a soul that "pined for what is not." The present age to his mind was an age of wonders, scientifically and mechahically, but he noted with grave concern that the arts were being driven into an arid wilderness.

He invested a large part of his income in founding scholarships and prizes to encourage original research and study in various departments of the Science and Art of Music.

He always held the view that music should form a part of the education of every child, the object of the musical training being to make the child musical and not always to make him a musician.

Paderewski was an internationalist because he was a nationalist, and he was a nationalist because he was an internationalist. He was not a mere dreamer. In his leisure he sought people, conversation and the atmosphere of companionship. The world owes a tribute to his magnetic personality, the multiple facets of his genius, wisdom, generosity. nobility of heart, fervour of patriotism, clear vision, strength of opinion and delicate diplomacy.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Pakistan in Ireland

In the article entitled "Totalitarian Ulster" in *The Catholic World*, W. J. Tucker exhorts Britain to do away with the devil of Pakistan in Northern Ireland :

The principal guarantees of the liberty of the subject under the British Constitution have been abolished in Northern Ireland, notwithstanding the fact that it forms part of the United Kingdom. In a code of statutory regulations which makes the executive supreme over the citizen, are provisions allowing for arrest without warrant upon mere suspicion, and imprisonment of indefinite duration without trial. The prisoner has no right of access to the Law Courts, to his attorney, or to his relatives or friends. Constitutional liberty does not exist.

No thinking Irishman or Englishman believes hat such a state of affairs is an adequate answer to the Irish question. As Parnell claimed, the solution of proper government for the Irish nation as a whole can never be arrived at until there is a United Ireland. And Prime Minister De Valera will not be satisfied until the Six Counties are part of Eire and until all Ireland is entirely free from Britain. On his side is the fact that there are no natural boundaries between Eire and Northern Ireland—the border arbitrarily cuts farms in two, splits highways, divides villages. There are large areas, as I have pointed out, which wish to enter Eire. Besides, Northern Ireland is riddled with corruption, disfranchisement, electoral gerrymandering. It is an area arbitrarily determined by Britain, at the instance of intriguing politicians who desired the mutilation of the living body of the Irish nation and the perversion of Ireland's national destiny. The reason assigned for this outrage was the necessity of protecting a local minority alleged to be distinct from the people of Ireland as to race and religion. But the true reason was a political intrigue, which inflamed and exploited the religious difference as an impediment to Ireland's demand for national independence. The separation of Eire and Northern Ireland is a repetition of the British pattern, so familiar in India and Palestine, of Divide and Rule.

Britain's reputation for consistency, honor and good faith is clearly at stake. On general grounds, the Britain that has put pressure on Czechoslovakia in the interests of an allegedly oppressed minority, can hardly tell the world that it has no right to move in the interests of an obviously oppressed minority under its own British sovereignty and within the sphere of its own legal, constitutional and effective control. Britain should take immediate steps to terminate the unconstitutional oppression of the Nationalist or Catholic minority in Northern Ireland. She should also terminate her financial support of the partition of Ireland by direct and indirect subsidies. As soon as it ceases to be a British Imperial interest to keep Ireland divided by fomenting religious differences, all Irishmen, whether Protestant or Catholic, will come together in the common love of their native land.

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To Quraishi, who has been in charge of tool designing at the plant almost since the outbreak of war, goes a good part of the credit for making gauges and other precision instruments which are playing an important part in the operations of the famous bomber plant.

Quraishi has not always been an engineer. Since going to the United States he has had a varied career which has taken him across the vast expense of that country. He has taught school in Indiana and studied engineering at the University of Michigan. For a time he ran a dry-goods store in the small city of Cumberland, Kentucky, and before that was owner and publisher of a newspaper in Winston Salem, North Carolina. To top off this varied taste of America, he once travelled from one end of the country to the other as a salesman for a perfume company.

A member of the American Society of Tool Engineers, Quraishi went back to Detroit at the outbreak of war to take charge of the huge tooling operation at the Lincoln plant and at Willow Run, and played a vital role in getting the production lines started. He was married in Detroit and now has a young son. Brikat.

Quraishi firmly believes that the tooling up of America for war work, and the construction and equipping in a few months of huge war factories that dwarfed peacetime plants, will go down as a historical landmark in the accomplishments of that vigorous nation. —USOWI.

Nervousness—Cause and Cure

Paramhansa Yogananda observes in *Inner Culture* :

Nervousness is a malady which can be overcome by a specific medicine—calmness. The disturbance of mental equilibrium which results in nervous disorders is caused by continuous states of excitement or excessive stimulation of the senses. Indulgence in constant thoughts of fear, anger, melancholy, remorse, envy, sorrow, hatred, discontent or worry, and lack of the necessities for normal and happy living, such as right food, proper exercise, fresh air, sunshine, agreeable work and a purpose in life, are the causes of all nervous diseases.

Any violent or persistent mental, emotional or physical excitement causes a disturbance of the balance in the flow of life force throughout the sensory-motor mechanism and the bulbs of the senses. It is as though we put a two-thousand volt current through a fifty-watt lamp. The lamp-wires would be burned out. In the same way, the nervous system cannot withstand the assault of intense, destructive thoughts and feelings.

Nervousness appears to many as a simple problem, but it is a deadly enemy, with far-reaching results. It is difficult to heal a man of any disease, so long as he suffers from nervousness. The unbalanced life force in his body makes it a tremendous task for him to concentrate or meditate deeply enough to acquire peace and wisdom. Nevertheless, nervousness can be easily cured by any one who is willing to analyze his condition and remove the disintegrating emotions which are tearing him apart, day by day. Analysis and calmness in all situations of life will heal the most stubborn case.

Realization that all power to think, speak, feel and act comes from God, and that He is ever with us, inspiring and guiding us, brings an instant freedom from nervousness. Flashes of divine joy will come with this realization; sometimes a deep illumination will pervade the being, banishing the very conception of fear. The power of God sweeps in like an ocean, surging through the heart as a cleansing flood, removing all obstacles from our path. The delusion of matter, the consciousness of being only a mortal body, is overcome by contacting the sweet serenity of Spirit, attainable by daily meditation.

The victim of nervousness must understand his case, and must reflect on those continual mistakes of thinking which are responsible for his maladjustment to life. When the nervous man once admits to himself that his disease is not mysterious in its cause, but the logical outcome of his own habits, he is already half cured.

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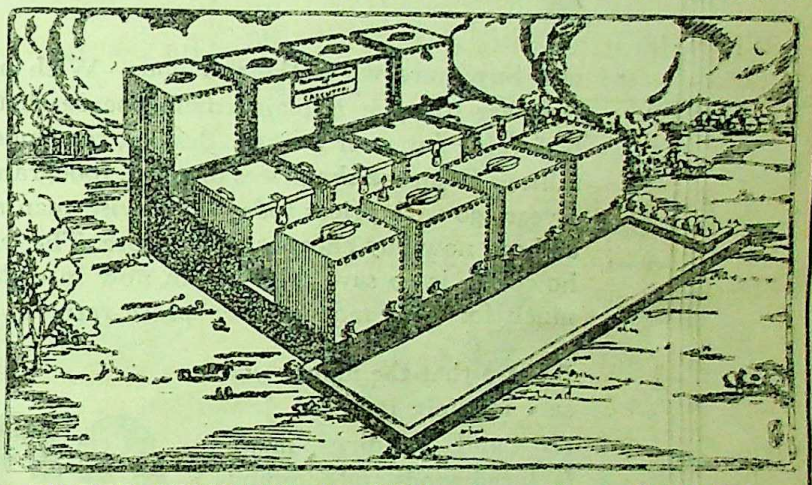

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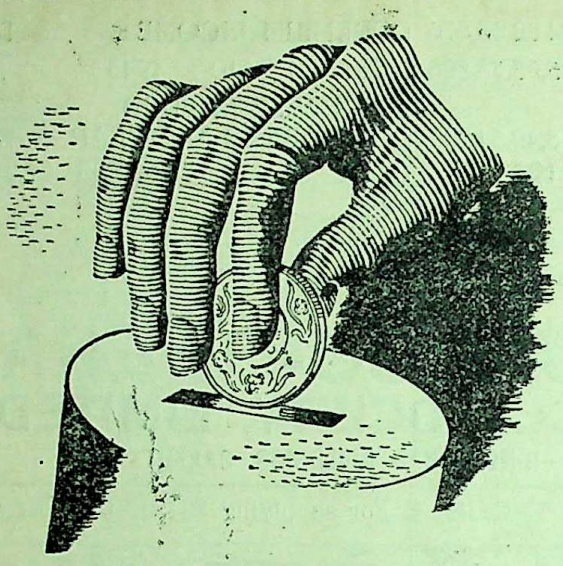

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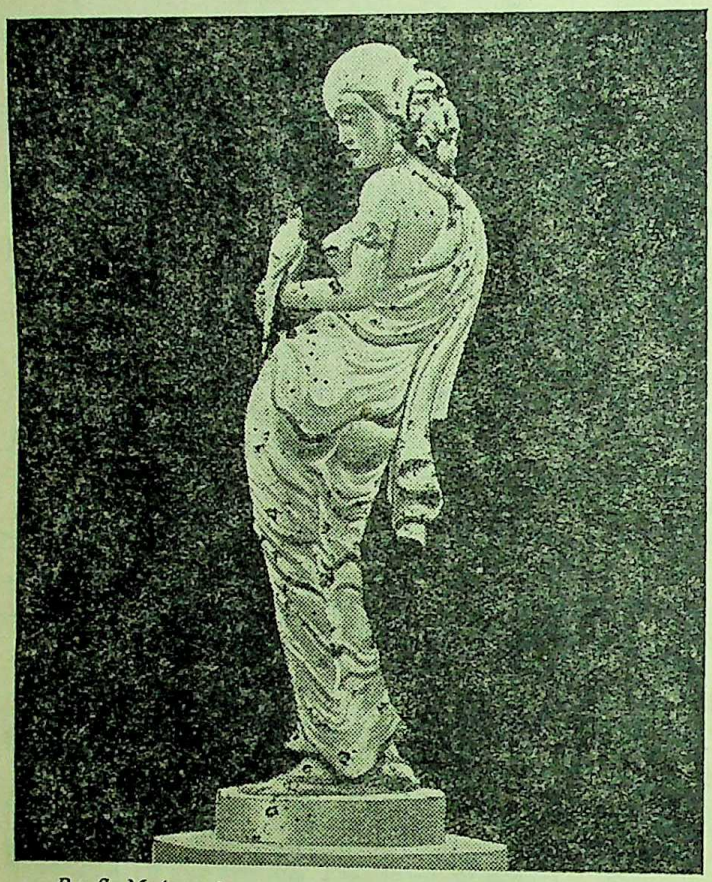

By S. Mahapatra.

The above interpretation of "Woman with Saree" is a photograph of a wood carving by the well-known artist S. Mahapatra, now on the staff of the Government School of Arts & Crafts, Lucknow.
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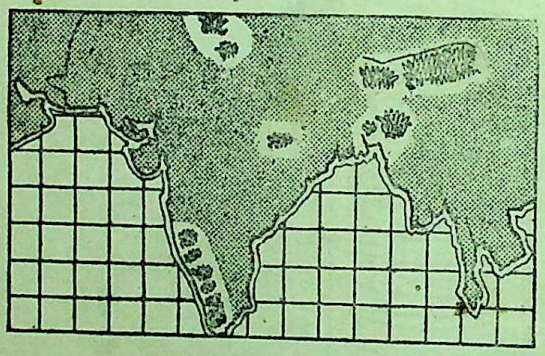

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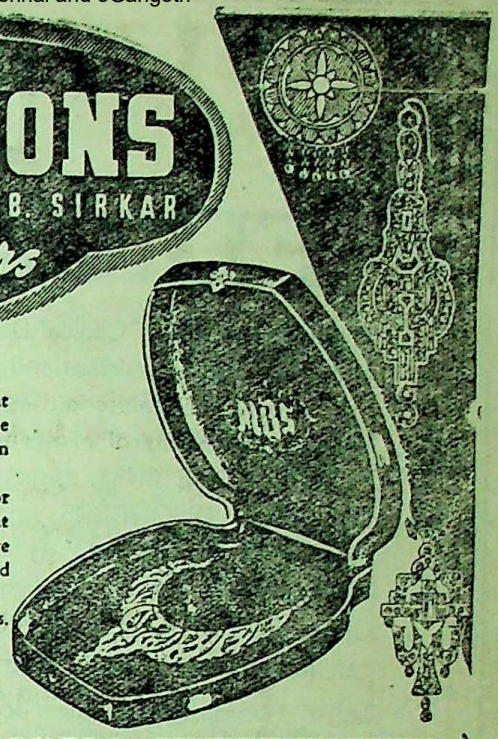

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CONTENTS FOR NOVEMBER, 1944

	PAGE
FRONTISPIECE—RAS-LILA —(*in colours*)—*Kshitindra Nath Majumdar*	
NOTES	... 225
THE WORLD AND THE WAR (*illust.*)— *Kedar Nath Chatterji* ...	... 235
THE NEED OF THE HOUR—*Kali Ch. Ghosh*	237
THE LETTERS OF YEATS—*Amalendu Bose, M. A.* ...	... 239
AT UNCLE JAKE'S GRAVESIDE— *St. Nihal Singh* ...	... 241
THE METTUR DAM (*illust.*)—*L. N. Gubil*	... 246
MADAME TUSSAUD'S EXHIBITION (*illust.*)—*Eric Lynn* ...	... 247

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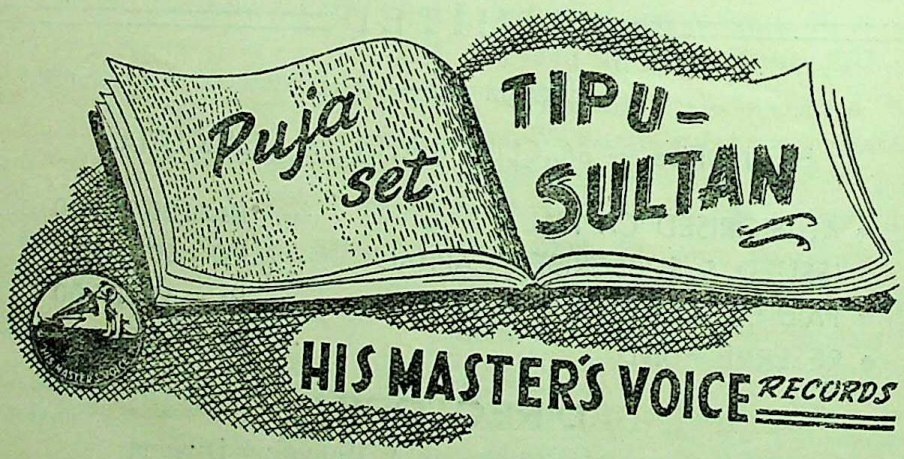

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CONTENTS—(Continued)

	Page
THE MALAYAR MATRIARCHY — *Prof. Krishna Prasanna Mukerji, M.A., B.L., D.Phil. (Heidelberg)*	250
DUMBARTON OAKS CONFERENCE AND POST-WAR SECURITY—*S. M. Bose, M. A., LL.B. (Cantab.), Bar-at-Law*	253
BOOK REVIEWS: ... *H. C. Mookerjee, Manindramohan Moulik, J. M. Datta, U. C. Bhattacharjee, Jitendra Nath Bose, Santosh Chatterjee, Chintaharan Chakravarti, Suresh Chandra Deb, A. B. Dutta, M. S Sengar, K. V. Subba Rao, K. M. J.*	256—263
INDIAN PERIODICALS: ...	263—264
A Moment With Lin Yutang	263
The Test is Poland ...	263
Gandhiji's Religion ...	263
Improvements of Rice Yields in India	264
	264

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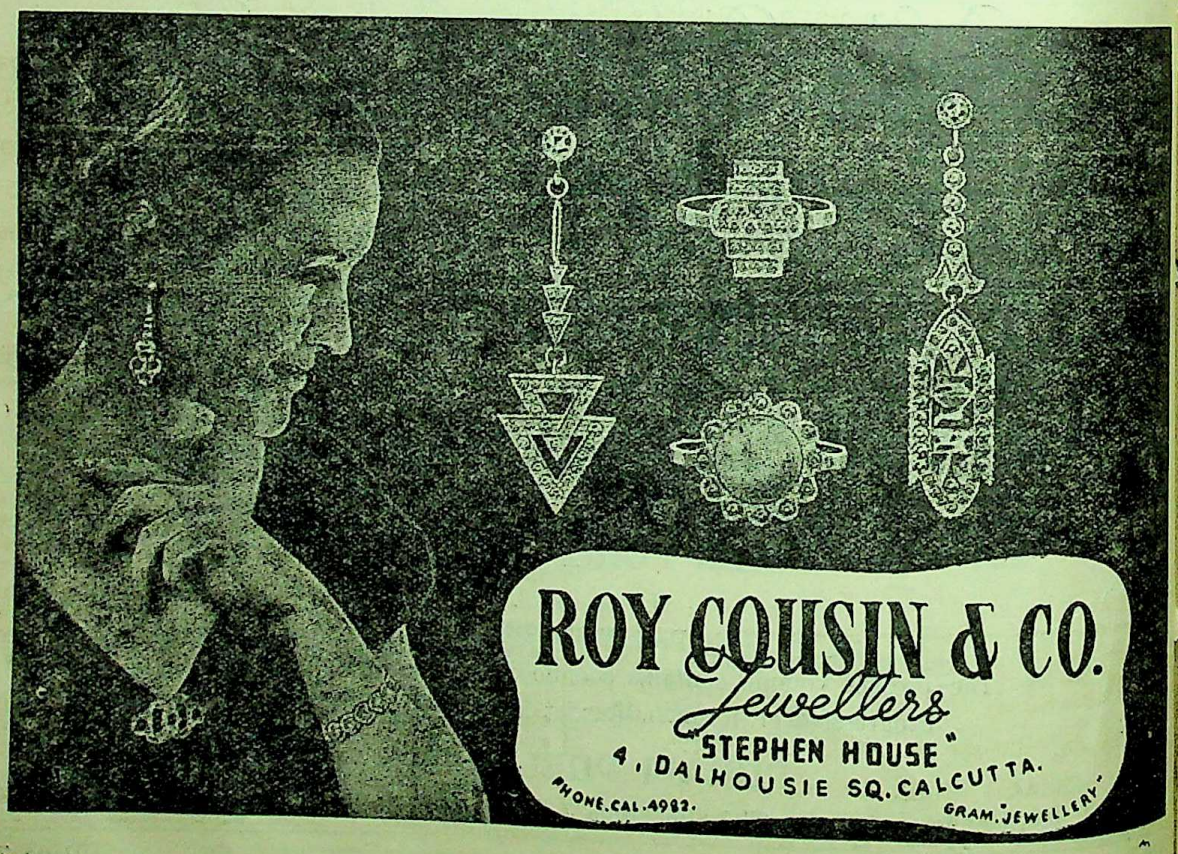

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CONTENTS—(Continued)

	PAGE
Racism and the Colour Problem—Far and Near	... 264
FOREIGN PERIODICALS: ...	266—268
The Problem of Power ...	... 266
Science and Religion ...	... 266
The Paper Industry of India ...	... 266
The Future of Civil Aviation ...	... 267
Surgeons Hail New Metal in Saving Lives ...	... 268

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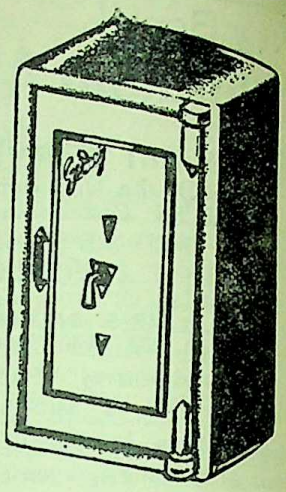

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By Kshitindra Nath Majumdar

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

The Breakdown of the Talks and After

The Gandhi-Jinnah talks have broken down and the correspondence that passed between them during this period is now public property. This breakdown has brought out the unrealities of the problem and the unrealities of the solutions offered by both Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Rajagopalachariar in bold relief. Mr. Jinnah's attempt to avoid pointed questions put by Gandhiji asking for a clarification of the Lahore resolution on Pakistan in all its implications and his eagerness to stick to an explanation of the mere text of the resolution, shows that he himself has no clear idea about the shape of what he calls Pakistan. Gandhiji's offer of the most generous terms to Mr. Jinnah, and his earlier concrete proposals to Lord Wavell, has given Gandhiji a pull over the reactionary forces. He has proved that the British are not interested in a settlement of the Indian political question and that Mr. Jinnah is now afraid, more than ever, to face the implications of the Lahore resolution—his own demand for Pakistan. Mr. Jinnah has also gone down in the country's estimation because of the undignified petulant attitude displayed by him in his letters and in some of his subsequent press statements.

The special representative of the *Leader* at New Delhi writes :

> It is not generally realized how damaging has been to British propaganda the result of Gandhiji's efforts of the past four months in finding a solution of the political deadlock. Has he not proved that Indian nationalism is prepared to wholeheartedly line up with the Allies in fighting the aggressors and building up a lasting peace ? Has he not exposed the fact that the British rulers are not prepared to trust Indians even with the conduct of domestic affairs ? Gandhiji has, in short, undone all that British propaganda had done during the past three years to prove that Congressmen were pro-Axis. Indeed those who had 'doped' Beverley Nichols to write that filth called the Public Mind will feel that the book has appeared too late.

Gandhiji's attempt to conciliate Mr. Jinnah has also been equally damaging to Britain's *bonafides*. A standing argument against the Congress is that it wants to establish a Hindu Raj in India and that the Muslims cannot submit to it. Gandhiji's offer has proved that the Congress meant what it said in its Working Committee resolution passed at New Delhi that it would not coerce any part of India to remain within an All-India Union against its wishes. Gandhiji's offer to Mr. Jinnah did not go beyond that resolution. It has only given a concrete form to this view. Gandhiji has offered freedom to the territories having an overwhelmnig majority of Muslim inhabitants but subject to the important proviso that the fundamental interests of India are not sacrificed in the sphere of defence, communications and economic co-operation. Thus the familiar pretexts that Congress is a totalitarian body claiming the sole right to represent the whole of India and out to establish a Hindu Raj, have been knocked on the head. The trend of comments in the U.S.A. on the Gandhi-Jinnah talks indicates that Americans who fought a civil war to prevent the southern States from breaking away from the Union have appreciated in particular the weight of Gandhiji's arguments. The New Delhi correspondent of the *Leader* has also stated : "I hear that American opinion is satisfied that the Congress leader has made a most fair offer."

The enemies of our freedom have used Mr. Jinnah's intransigence as an argument against Indian freedom. To the extent to which neutral observers felt that there was some genuine basis for the Muslim fear Gandhiji has gone to the maximum to remove it. His offer, when considered along with its all important proviso, amounts only to the creation of a few autonomous Muslim provinces with a greater degree of self-government in respect of subjects other than the fundamental interests like defence,

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communications and economic co-operation. He has not conceded to Mr. Jinnah's absurd claim of nationhood for a community which in reality is a body of religious converts. In respect of descent, language, history and political institutions, Muslims of India are an integral part of the Indian nation. Racially almost all the Indian Muslims belong to the same stock as Hindus. Hindustani is simple Urdu, and simple Hindi is easily understood by a vast majority of Hindus and Muslims alike all over the country since about 1000 A.D. The mother-tongue of the three crores of Muslims in Bengal is the Bengali language.

Both the Hindus and Muslims have equally contributed to the history and culture of India for about seven centuries and for the last century or so political institutions of both of them have been fashioned and moulded after the British pattern. For centuries together they have both been under the same Central Government.

There is no doubt that the last word about the communal question has been said on behalf of the Congress.

"Ambedkar Runs Amok"

The Indian Social Reformer has described Dr. Ambedkar's Madras tour under the caption *Ambedkar runs amok*. At a luncheon given by the editor of the *Sunday Observer*, the anti-Naicker journal of the Justice Party, Dr. Ambedkar analysed the causes which led to the collapse of the Party at the 1937 General Elections. The Party had held office for twenty years till 1937. The chief cause of this collapse was, in his opinion, that Justice Party men, after securing jobs, forgot what they owed to the Party and did not use the strategic positions they occupied to advance the Party's interests. He indignantly asked:

"What earthly benefit can the members of the community get if one of them happens to be an Executive Councillor? It is that fellow who draws the salary and that fellow lives in glory. If he goes there and remembers he has come there as their agent, he is there also in office in order to give a new turn to society, the going of that man is certainly worth while."

The *Reformer* then sums up:

His thesis in this speech was that the "spoils system" was the essence of democracy. In another speech he attacked Mr. Srinivasa Sastry, Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah. Mr. Sastri came in for his bitterest invective. In another speech during his South Indian tour Dr. Ambedkar outlined for the information of the Scheduled Castes a scheme which he said, the Government were preparing but which was not yet complete. According to this scheme, all the waste lands of India will be ceded to the Scheduled Castes, new villages will be created exclusively for them, and money grants provided for enabling them to develop as a political power strong enough to dominate all other communities. The Army authorities want land for their scheme to make the Army independent of civilian production in agriculture and industry. The Bombay Government want lands for their road programme. Other provinces may also have their programmes which require fresh land. Moreover, the waste lands are scattered over the whole of India. Then, there is the problem of finding means of reconciling the conflicting interests of the numerous castes statutorily grouped under the head of "Scheduled Castes". The Mahar will not associate with the Mang even when both have been converted to Christianity. The "Scheduled Castes" have no corporate existence outside the scheduled and the grandiose scheme which Dr. Ambedkar in the name of Government promised to the depressed classes cannot possibly be realised. If Dr. Ambedkar spoke in his personal capacity, no harm will be done, but it is a serious matter when the people are fed with false hopes in the name of the Government.

Some of the speeches delivered by Dr. Ambedkar contained threats of violence against those who might not agree with his plans, the trend of every one of them was that Governmental power would be utilised for achieving the objects outlined by him. He has declared himself a firm beliver in the utilisation of Governmental power for Party ends. Government of India's silence may be continued to have amounted to acquiescence.

"Britain Has No Intention to Give India Freedom"—Amer-Asia

The New York Magazine *Amer-Asia*, commenting on the significance of the Gandhi-Jinnah meetings, writes:

"Ever since the failure of the Cripps mission, the entire emphasis of the British propaganda both within India and abroad, had peen concentrated on the contention that as long as there was no unity within India she cannot be considered ready to be master of her own destiny.

"In reality, this British contention was false and unjust. The truth is that Britain has no intention of giving India her freedom—the fact has been sufficiently demonstrated by Britain's insistence that the 562 native Indian princes must agree to any future political settlement when it is obvious that these autocratic rulers will never voluntarily consent to a settlement that deprives them of British protection.

"As far as the question of Hindu-Moslem antagonism is concerned, this problem has been artificially aggravated by British propaganda and by smal sections of both Hindu and Moslem communities. This is particularly true of large landowners who, after fearing a real unity between Hindu and Moslem peasants, have become chief allies of British in obstructing Indian struggle for freedom. The British Government used its supreme power to keep thousands of Congress Party leaders in jail and maintain strict censorship on the news from India. It used its extensive propaganda machine to stir up anti-American sentiment in India and anti-Indian sentiment in the United States and convince the public opinion, particularly in Britain and America, that there was nothing but disunity in India—a conclusion which is wholly untrue.

"In the daily life of the Indian people, both on the social and economic levels in the legislative assemblies, there is as much unity as in most other countries. The only time there appears to be serious disunity in India is when a hard and fast agreement between the Congress and the League is made an essential pre-requisite to the attainment of Indian freedom."

It is becoming increasingly clear to foreign

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observers, particularly in the U.S.A., that if India were a free nation, the variety of economic, social and religious problems would exist just as they do in most of the countries and that they would be handled by the normal processes of democratic procedure. But since India is not a free country and since the Indian people are impoverished politically and enslaved, the most powerful weapon in the hands of the British Imperialism is the policy of divide and rule.

Churchill on India

In a review of the war situation in the House of Commons, Mr. Churchill referred to India in the following words:

"Once again India and her vast population ave reposed serenely among the trumults and hurricanes of the world behind the Imperial shield (cheers). The fact should sometimes be noted that under British rule in the last 80 years incomparably fewer people have perished by steel or firearms in India than in any simi ar area or community throughout the globe."

Mr. McGovern (Independent Labour Party) interjected : "Many have perished by hunger."

Mr. Churchill continued : "Well, the population has increased by 60 million in the last 10 years. It is evident that the famine which was caused by military conditions affecting transport is by no means representative of the administration under which the broad peninsula of India has met the increase of population, exceeding in speed of that of any increase throughout the whole world (cheers).

"I think it a very remarkable fact that India has received this shelter and has been this vast harbour of peace protected by the armies and authority of Great Britain, and protected also by the care and attention of this House, in which the brave fighting races of India have at all times borne a most honourable memorable part."

Mr. Churchill's chief asset in his political career has been his contempt for truth. But the audacity of this picture of India serenely reposing behind the imperial shield, beats anything he has done or said. India as a fact is suffering all the horrors of war which Britain is suffering and more. The British people are not suffering from dearth of food. They are better off than before the war. The general health of Britain has greatly improved. The only difference is that she has flying bombs over some of her cities but the total death roll from bombs over Britain is far less than the number of people killed in the famine and the pestilence following it, both of which are direct results of the war. As regards birth rate, it has been pointed out on several occasions—and comparative figures are available in any good book on the population problem—that it is far below that in Britain or the U.S.A.

Flouting Justice

The Sessions Judge of Belgaum, in a case of police highhandedness, remarked about some serious allegations against the local police:

"Those allegations are very serious indeed, and, if true, are calculated to undermine the confidence of the public in officers whose duty it is to be the jealous guardians of law and order. In particular, the allegations of the gross abuse of the wide powers of arrest under Rule 129 of the D. I. Rules for stifling criticism in the Press., . . . deserve very serious notice and a thorough inquiry."

A lawyer correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* writes to his editor to say that what is disclosed by the Belgaum judgment generally holds good with regard to his district also. Police highhandedness, and the protection of the puffed up officials is nothing new in India. The Defence of India Rules have given the police unparalleled opportunity to harass the people. Strictures from High Courts against police highhandedness are not infrequent but not a single case has yet come to light telling the people that the Government have taken action against the headstrong officials for maintaining the dignity of the High Court. The Calcutta High Court's severe strictures on the conduct of police officials in the High Court building was lightly passed over by the Executive.

Recently, the action of the police has been condemned by the judges of the Nagpur High Court in the most severe terms. The judges remarked :

"They cannot call in all their powers of detention and in the guise of exercising those powers conduct a secret investigation into a crime. If they have information that these detenus have committed crimes or offences, they are not bound to investigate into them. They can rest content with detaining them under Rule 26 or 129 'provided the matter falls within the ambit of those Rules.' But if they want an investigation they must proceed in accordance with the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code. If they do otherwise it is a fraud upon the Act and their action is not taken in good faith. They cannot make the best of both worlds."

The facts of the case were that Mr. P. Y. Deshpande, an Advocate of the Nagpur High Court and also the Editor of the Marathi Weekly *Bhavitavya*, was arrested and detained under D.I.R. 129 without being told what was the charge against him. It was alleged against the police that the Rule was used only as a cloak to interrogate the prisoner in respect of a dacoity in Bombay Presidency. Their Lordships also came to the same conclusion and with regard to the powers of the police of the Provincial Government they said:

"In the present case issues of facts were raised. The good faith of the police and of the Provincial Government were expressly challenged, and facts were set out which, if unrebutted and unexplained, were sufficient to support the allegations. An affidavit, therefore, was necessary and should have been filed from the start. In fact it is the complete absence of any refutation of these facts and the failure to explain them that leads us to conclude that the orders in these two cases were not made in good faith and that they are a fraud on the Defence of India Act and its Rules."

Mr. Deshpande was also long denied an

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interview with his legal advisers. Different excuses were given at different times for disallowing the interview. Their Lordships described as "deplorable" the putting of some "false obstruction at every stage" and bitterly remarked:

"And all this was done to deprive a man of a little legal advice so that he might defend his liberty. All done in the name of public safety and the efficient prosecution of the war. Is the realm really in such desperate straits? Are the war efforts really hampered or endangered? We have certainly seen no evidence of it, nor do we believe that can be possible. We have a more robust faith in the might of Allied arms. But if it does, or is likely to, then why not frankly and openly take away these rights and liberties by legislation? That is done elsewhere, particularly in countries with which we are at war. Why not here?"

The flouting of justice, in this particular base, happened in a province under the sole charge and care of a British Civilian Governor carrying on the administration with the help of advisers selected and appointed by him, and directly responsible through a British Viceroy to a British Cabinet which professes freedom and justice for the "world".

Bertrand Russell on the Future of British Empire

"I am afraid there is likely to be another world war—but not in this generation"—this opinion was expressed by Bertrand Russell on his return from America to London to take up a fellowship at Trinity College, Cambridge. Answering the question as to what is likely to happen throughout the world within our lifetime, he said:

"Britain is already a secondary power but most people here cannot yet see it. England's power originally lay in her lead in industry and the fact that she possessed the largest navy. That is no longer so. Russia and America are more powerful in arms and industry and we cannot hope to compete with them. There are many well-meaning people here who are against Imperialism but they don't count the cost, we can't hope to hold down the Empire and India particularly should be freed. But this means a loss of power and money and we must face this fact.

"This transition from being a great power to being a second-rate one will not be easy. Indeed we can't hope to achieve it under present economic system without considerable hardship."

About the Far East, which he knows well, Russell said:

"I doubt if England will easily give up her imperialism there. She finds the rubber, oil and tin too attractive. Indeed we may have a deal with U.S. oil companies and other interests, a super Anglo-American commercial imperialism which will agree to share the swag. Eventually the white man's meddling with the East will have to cease. China will probably develop militarily and become strong. India, China and Japan with their enormous populations and utterly disproportionate share of power and property are not always going to be satisfied with the present arrangement."

Russell believes that a world federation determined to punish aggression can keep the peace only if its powerful members are not themselves willing to practice aggression. Those who, like Britain, have had too large a share must be willing to make sacrifices for the sake of justice. Russell predicted that with the exception of Finland, Poland and Sweden, all European countries are likely to be diplomatically, if not ideologically, pro-Russian. The only eventual solution, according to him, is international socialism with a world government and paper currency based on index figures for commodities instead of gold.

No World Peace Without Free India

John Gunther discussing problems of peace in *Sunday Chronicle* writes, "England won't be the same after the war. It is quite possible her people may become bitterly jealous of American power, wealth and influence."

Gunther says, "There are several outstanding issues between Britain and America and more will develop as time goes. Population of the U. S. A. is 130 millions and that of Europe 400 millions. But there are 338 million people in India alone and 475 million in China. There can be no decent peace in the world—no globe peace—unless Asia is taken into consideration." Commenting on this statement a close friend of Gunther told the *Free Press Journal* correspondent that like the majority of thinking Americans Gunther believes there can be no stable peace on earth if the biggest country in Asia—India is not free.

Coupland Challenged in America

Reviewing Reginald Coupland's new book *The Indian Problem*, in *New York Times*, Kate Mitchell writes:

"Prof. Coupland's analysis of the Indian problem is open to challenge on two major points. In the first place, the Hindu-Muslim conflict is not permanent and inevitable nor is it the central problem of India....The assumption of a permanent Hindu vs. Muslim alignment in Indian politics ignores the growing demand on the part of the rank and file members of both the Congress Party and the Muslim League for an agreement on the basis of full self-determination for all minorities within the framework of a Free India.

"Even more questionable is Professor Coupland's treatment of Indian Princes.....No amount of hopeful generalities can disguise the fact that Indian Princes will not voluntarily relinquish powers and privileges guaranteed to them by their present treaty relations with the British Crown. And no division of India into regional units can make possible a workable federation between the democratically-governed areas on the one hand and medieval autocracies on the other."

Foreign Exploitation of South India

Commercial India understands that plans are afoot with investment schemes aggregating to fifty crores of British capital for the rapid industrialisation of South India after the war. The report runs:

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While Indian business opinion is knocking its head over the political deadlock and crying itself hoarse demanding a National Government British Business interests are briskly planning their own and India's future. Complete schemes have been drawn up in regard to several new industrial enterprises and these schemes have been practically approved by London City interests.

According to the information now available plants will be put up near Mettur. Trichinopoly and Coimbatore for the manufacture of rayon, vanaspati, rubber goods, finished leather products and electrical goods.

The plans have been so drawn up as to avoid all competition with existing European concerns.

In the farther South, another European concern will spring up for the large-scale manufacture of automobile tyres. There is a plan for starting an enamel industry under the auspices of the Travancore state. There re fears that foreign interests have their eye on this too.

There are other interesting reports too of American penetration in Coimbatore. Coimbatore has grown into a big textile centre and if the talks between certain millowners and their American visitors fructify negotiations would have been completed for the import and erection of ultra-modern textile plants. More than half the existing mills now manufacturing yarn will be strengthened with additional spindles and there would be no further need to import mercerised yarn.

American businessmen are keen in offering technical assistance to India. The Chrysler Corporation had offered help in the development of the proposed Motor Car Industry at Bangalore sponsored by Seth Walchand Hirachand and Sir M. Visvesvaraya. American advice is reported to have been sought for in respect of the fertiliser industry to be started near Mettur. According to the *Commercial India*, one or two Indians might be leaving for America to choose the machinery. It is certainly better for the Indian industry to develop through Indian enterprise aided by American technical advice. In that case the independence of Indian industries will be retained on a larger scale. Companies started in this country under the cloak (India) Ltd. with British capital and enterprise constitute the greatest menace to the economic life of this country.

Engine Building in India

In a discussion with the members of the Indian Chamber of Commerce at Lahore, Sir Ardeshir Dalal, the Planning and Development member of the Government of India, said :

> Locomotives had not been made as the making of a locomotive was a long drawn-out matter. The Government had entered into negotiations already with some industrialists in the country for the manufacture of boilers. If the manufacture of boilers would prove a success it would be a stepping stone towards the making of locomotives which could not be done at once. Big boilers were being ordered to be made. The order for making locomotives was placed outside India, because locomotives were required badly.

In January 1940, Messrs. J. Humphries and K. C. Srinivasan, in their report on the construction of locomotives in India in State Railway Workshops, had clearly shown that the moment was particularly opportune for the manufacture of locomotives in this country despite the war in Europe and had recommended such manufacture being taken up at once. They had estimated that the "all-in cost of production" of an X-E Locomotive complete with boiler and tender at Kanchrapara would be Rs. 98,000, and these could be expected to be cheaper than imported locos by about 20 per cent. In the considered opinion of these two experts, appointed by the Railway Board to go into the problem, the minimum economic size of a locomotive manufacturing works in India would be one with an average annual outturn of 100 broad gauge locomotives. It was further established, in their opinion, that this production capacity was not in excess of the annual demand of the railways in India for broad gauge locomotives, boilers and components. Almost five years have passed since the publication of this report and the public eye cannot discern any further action in this matter.

Sir Ardeshir's Faith in Government's Industrial Policy

In the same meeting, Sir A. R. Dalal said :

> "I can tell you categorically that Government of India is most genuinely anxious to help in the post-war development and it is not true to say that Delhi is planning not for the good of India, but for the benefit of Britain. If I were convinced that the Government of India was not genuine in its intentions towards the post-war planning and development, I would not be there for a day more and would leave my job."

It is very difficult to agree with Sir Ardeshir's complacence in this matter in view of the fact that whatever little protection and ecouragement has ever been granted to any Indian industry, has been obtained only after prolonged and intense pressure of public opinion in and outside the Central Legislative Assembly.

Even the Steel Protection Act, which has indirectly made Sir Ardeshir what he is to-day, came on the Statute Book only after an intense public agitation. The refusal to permit the establishment of an Indian motor car industry, and the cold shouldering of the ship-building and aircraft manufacturing projects, are matters of very recent occurrence. The development of an Indian basic chemical industry has been kept at bay in favour of the I. C. I. Discrimination in favour of the foreign, specially British, against Indian industries is being widely made not only in case of big industries, but also in respect of smaller ones. An Import Council has already been set up at New Delhi to bring in ordinary consumption goods from abroad, specially from England, instead of try- manufactured in this country.

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No Plan for Indian Industrialisation

The *Leader*, a liberal organ, in an editorial article, has put the following question to Sir A. R. Dalal :

> Have the many reconstruction committees, which have been in operation for some years, now evolved any plan whereby the markets which will be released from the dominant position which Japan occupies will be captured by Indian industry? This is a question to which Sir Ardeshir Dalal and the Government of which he is a member will have to give serious attention. A policy of luke-warmness towards industrial development on the part of Government will not do. India has many advantages in the matter of raw materials and labour supply and with the vast sterling balances that she has accumulated during the war, she should be able to plan a design which would help her both to produce capital and consumer goods. Important as the question of a just division of the national income is, the standard of living of the people cannot be raised by ignoring the need for greater production in both industry and agriculture.

After his China tour, Mr. Donald Nelson, a former Chairman of the U. S War Production Board, said in Chicago that it is "to the advantage of the entire world to see that China emerges from this war as a leading industrial nation of the Orient replacing Japan." America has an interest in Chinese industrialisation and proposes to help her to become industrialised. But Britain has so far produced no scheme for the industrialisation of India. Neither has the Indian Government shown any such interest. A number of Committees have been set up in the name of post-war planning, but up till now they have given the one unmistakable indication that whatever their real functions might be, they have very little to do with the development of genuine Indian industries.

Partition Question at Peace Conference

Mr. De Valera has expressed his intention to bring up before the Peace Conference the question of terminating the partition between Eire and Northern Ireland. The need and urgency of restoring the unity of Ireland is ever before the Government of De Valera. He is reported to have said that no opportunity for bringing the injustice of the present position and its bearing on the relations between Ireland and Britain to those concerned has been or will be neglected. Prof. Savory has brought up this matter to the House of Commons. He thinks that De Valera's move implies that Eire proposes to bring a purely domestic question of the United Kingdom before the Peace Conference.

The minority question has been always, specially since the last Great War, an international problem and the League of Nations had much to do with it. Partitioning of a country in the name of protection of minority rights ought to remain an international concern in the interests of world peace. De Valera's move has a special significance for the peoples of India and Palestine. Partitioning in Ireland and Palestine has proved that the division of country provides no solution for the minority problem, it becomes instead a source of perpetual trouble and only widens the gaps of divergences. The establishment of two sovereign states in India, too, will be the ruin of India's peace and progress and will fill the country with warring camps of diverse forces pulling in diverse directions in pursuance of divergent allegiances.

The United States of America has a legion of races within her body politic but with no separate minority rights. She fought a civil war to prevent the Southern States breaking away from the Union. The present-day strength of America may be traced back to the successful termination of this civil war.

Lahore Grain Syndicate Warned

A Press Note issued by the Punjab Government runs as follows:

> Since the start of rationing at Lahore, there have been several complaints from consumers in the Press against the quality and clearness of the wheat distributed through retail depots. Strong criticism has been directed against the Lahore Grain Syndicate which is responsible under the Rationing Controller's supervision for wholesale distribution. Government have made thorough inquiries and after considering all the reports received have come to the conclusion that the Syndicate's organisation has been defective, and that it has displayed inefficiency to a degree which justifies action against it.

In view of the heavy losses already incurred by the Syndicate Government have refrained from imposing any heavy fine on them but have issued a severe warning that any future deficiencies will meet with severe action. Public have been assured that action will continue to be taken by the Government and by the Rationing Authorities to see that mistakes made by the Syndicate and others concerned with distribution are not repeated.

In Bengal, complaints against very bad and heavily adulterated foodstuff supplied at the ration shops have gone completely unheeded. Municipalities have been prevented under the D. I. R. from checking adulteration. Lakhs of maunds of foodstuffs have been destroyed owing to negligent storing. Black marketing runs rampant as usual. Ministers and British civilians in charge of civil supply have not shown the slightest concern for checking corruption inefficiency and rank dishonesty in the distribution of essential foodstuffs.

Malaria in Europe and India

The epidemiology of malaria has been discussed by Dr. V. B. Whigglesworth, M. D., F. R. S. in an article published in the *Discovery*

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(London) for April last. The author states that the vast amount of malaria that occurred in South-Eastern Europe during the War of 1914-18, and the widespread epidemics that followed the return of the troops to their homelands and the movements of populations consequent upon the peace treaties, focussed attention on malaria in Europe, and the next 20 years saw the unfolding of a new and fascinating chapter in medical entomology. The result was a practical stamping out of malaria from this region. Malaria was very prevalent in the eastern counties of England a century ago, but there also it has been brought completely under control. England has been virtually free from this preventable pest except for a recrudescence in 1917-18.

Dr. Whigglesworth has explained the success of anti-malarial methods used in practice. He has cited the example of the successful workings of the scientific method in Assam and North Bengal tea gardens. The tea plantations of the Assam hills and the Dooars are among the most malarious regions of the world. The carrying species is *Anopheles minimus*, a mosquito which breeds in open grassy edged drains and streams. Dr. Whigglesworth then continues :

> Faced with the problem of recommending methods of control which the tea planters could employ during the period of economic depression in the early thirties, malariologists devised many ingenious procedures applicable in different localities. One of the most successful of these was to plant suitable shrubs along the margins of the streams so that eventually these ran through a tunnel of dense shade. No larvae are to be found in these shaded streams, and it was supposed that the female mosquito would not lay her eggs in shaded water . . . . She would not lay in moving water. Indeed her selection of the grassy margins of streams depends on the fact that she can find there both local shade and still water; and the efficacy of dense shrubs in eliminating breeding is due to the exclusion of marginal vegetation so that flowing water extends right to the edge of the stream. It is possible to exclude the mosquito from the streams either by covering them with dense shade, or by exposing them to full sunlight and clearing away by hand all the grass along the margins. It will depend on local conditions which method is the more practical.

The classic method of poisoning mosquito larvae by applying a film of oil to the surface of the water is still a valuable stand-by. The killing of the adult insect is likewise a standard method for the control of mosquitoes. It is a method of prime importance at the present time for the prevention of malaria on the war fronts. The mosquitoes are killed by regularly spraying quarters with insecticidal mixtures, usually extracts of pyrethrum in kerosene. The liquids are atomized in hand spray-guns or power-operated paint sprayers or dispersed in some gas kept liquefied by pressure.

Eradication of malaria with these simple provision for inspection of hospitals. The con-

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devices is well within the reach of any Government or well organised body. What the planters could achieve in their own interest, Government could certainly do only if the interests of the ruler and the ruled were identical.

Britain's Health

What an independent and progressive nation can do to ensure the health of its citizens, without disturbing the present structure of the society, is best illustrated by the British White Paper on *A National Health Service*. Simultaneously it may be compared with the continually increasing deterioration in the health of millions of people on a colossal scale in a country under her "trusteeship" and the absence of any programme for upliftment.

The basic principle of the British White Paper is that everybody in the country, irrespective of means, sex, age or occupation, shall have equal opportunity to benefit from the best and most up-to-date medical and allied services available. The insistence on the maintenance of health rather than the cure of disease is a sound principle and it forms the foundation of the whole plan.

The scheme is given there in some detail. First it is the intention of the Government to disturb existing tried organisations as little as possible so that the local administration of the scheme will be in the hands of the local authorities, or more exactly of local authorities grouped so as to ensure the best possible district service having regard to geographical condition and population distribution. The main object is to weld together existing services into a comprehensive scheme, modifying it and supplementing it as necessary. The Parliamentary responsibility of the scheme will be borne by the Minister, but he will have the technical advice and the guidance of a new advisory body representing the medical profession in all its aspects, and to be known as the Central Health Service Council. In addition to this there will be another executive body composed mainly of members of the profession and to be known as the Central Medical Board, which shall be the employer body with whom the practitioner who joins the new service enters into his contract of employment.

While preparing the local plan by the local bodies, the needs of the area will have to be assessed and full hospital and consultant services, partly on its own initiative and partly by agreement with existing voluntary hospitals will be provided. All hospitals of whatever kind will have to conform to national standards of employment of their staffs, and there will be

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sultants associated with these hospitals are to be on a salaried basis, either wholetime or part time at rates to be agreed later.

Steps will be taken to secure the best possible geographical distribution of medical men in the light of the needs of each area. The general practitioner can operate either as an individual, normally on a capitation basis of the number of patients for whom he is responsible, or as a salaried member of a group of doctors working at a health centre. Permission to acquire a practice in an area already adequately served may be refused, and compensation may be paid to the doctor vacating such a practice.

For the patient the service will be free, except perhhaps for partial payment of certain appliances, and the cost will be met partly out of rates by the local authority and partly out of the Exchequer. At a health centre under normal circumstances the whole family can receive consultation and treatment by appointment with this selected medical attendant, and in emergency by another member of the staff who happens to be on duty at the time.

The scheme strikes one as eminently rational and designed to secure a first class service to the community. The people of this country, dying in millions of preventable diseases, look at the scheme drawn up by the "trustees" for their own benefit only to be reminded of the utter helplessness of a subject nation. Britain believed that courage and power of endurance depend to a large extent upon health and that 'the health line of the homefront may become as important as the battle line.'

Grow More Fish in Peru and Bengal

The *Discovery* writes :

British scientists have continually stressed the need for the British Empire to utilise to the full the fishery resources in inland waters and on the coasts of our colonies in order that the deficiency of first class protein among the natives can be corrected. It is interesting to learn that a fish farm of the type so often advocated is helping Peru to meet wartime food shortage among the fast growing population in the upper Amazon valley, the scene of development of rubber and other tropical materials needed for the United Nations' war effort. The fish farm was established three years ago, and according to the President of Peru it has already delivered to the markets of Iquitos more than 22,000 pounds of dried paicha, considered to be the largest fresh water fish of the world. Specimens of this fish have been recorded up to 15 feet long, and it is regarded commercially as the most valuable food-fish in the Amazon Valley. Because it is so valued there is a constant danger of over-fishing, so that steps had to be taken to make sure that stocks did not become depleted. So the paicha reserve, said to be the first fish farm in the Amazon River system, was set up to operate as a fish hatchery, providing small fish for re-stocking rivers, as well as a farm for mature fish.

This is what a small country in South America has done. In India, fat salaried appointments for the grow more fish campaign have been made. The Fishery Department of the Bengal Government have issued coloured and illustrated pamphlets for the guidance of an illiterate population, containing instructions which when acted upon, have led, at places, not to an increase but to a wholesale destruction of fishes. Price of fish continues to rule six to twelve times higher than the normal rate.

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D. D. T.—the Wonder Insecticide

According to *Industrial and Engineering Chemistry* a new plant is being rapidly constructed in the U.S.A. at a cost of half a million dollars to augment existing capacity for the production of D.D.T. (dichlorodiphenyl. trichloroethane). This compound was first synthesised in Germany seventy years ago, but its use as an insecticide was only patented five years ago by a Swiss firm. Originally used as a moth repellant, it has now proved an excellent controller of body lice and hence typhus. Its importance in warfare is so great that the first 500 pound batch produced in America was flown to an overseas battle zone. D.D.T.'s potency is said to be so great that a single application dusted on clothing once a month gives protection from disease-carrying vermin. When sprayed on the walls and the floor of a room, mosquito or any insect coming into contact with such wall or floor falls down dead. The potency in this case remains for about three months.

Britain Minds Her Own Agriculture While Indians Starve

While large parts of India have been suffering from acute food shortage and people are dying of hunger, which implies that the grow more food campaign has not yielded the results desired, in Britain there has been a remarkable increase in agricultural production. The agricultural correspondent of the *Daily Express* writes that food production in Britain has more than doubled, that the acreage of land under cultivation has increased from 6,862,000 to 11,610,000 acres, that the potato crop has been doubled and that of rye increased six-fold, and that the British farmer can now feed the population on rather more than two days out of three, instead of only one day in three which was the case before the war. As the result of a highly efficient system of food rationing and distribution, all sections of the people are getting enough food in quality and quantity to keep them in good health.

In India, particularly in the most starved province of Bengal, food problem has been mishandled in a manner probably unprecedented in human history. The Government in this

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country could not claim more than a ten per cent increase in food production as a result of the grow more food campaign on which millions of rupees have been squandered. It is doubtful whether this small increase is due to the Government campaign, or is a natural outcome of high prices for agricultural produce.

Mohenjodaro to Influence British Town Planning

Mr. B. S. Townroe, member of the British Central Housing Committee and a member of several Town Planning Committees in Britain delivered a lecture before the India Society, London, on May 26, 1943, on 'City Development in India and Britain—some comparison.' Sir John Woodhead presided. Mr. Townroe said :

"Those who bolster up their wishful hopes of a new world, planned according to their own individual beliefs of what will be the best for future generations, are infected at times with the slow poison of totalitarianism. They forget that many of their much boasted ideas are at least 5,000 years old . . . . Buried cities in the Indus Valley at least 5,000 years old, when excavated, showed they were well planned and drained. Every large house had a bath-room. The old Vedic treatises afford striking proof of the knowledge and commonsense of the early peoples of India in regulating their building development and wisdom in their municipal administration.

When we think of the great urban civilisation in the Indus Valley of 5000 years ago, we gain humility in facing the issues of to-day. From India we can learn both patience and wisdom in dealing with the redevelopment of our bombed cities in Europe and North Africa and the Far East in the years to come."

Long before the birth of Christ, town planning was a regular feature in the municipal life of India. Taxila, Pataliputra, Kasi, Vesali and a host of other cities may be mentioned. During the Christian Era before the birth of modern Britain, Bengal had Gaur, Pandua, Pundranagari, Tamralipti and many other well-planned cities.

Gift of Science to Humanity

Mr. D. N. Wadia, Minerologist to the Government of Ceylon and a former President of the Indian Science Congress, speaking at Colombo on Soviet Science said that the planning of science and technology in Russia had transformed an illiterate agrarian people into an efficient industrial state.

He explained in considerable detail the organisation of Soviet scientific research from the subsidiary points serving factories, mines and farms to the Supreme Council and the Academy of Science.

Scientific research in Russia had been directed mainly to the development of its mineral resources and agriculture to such an extent that the Soviet Government maintained a corps of 10,000 geologists including 3,000 women at a cost of £38,000,000 for mineral research work alone. Investigations, he said, had for instance proved Russia's petrol deposits to be near seven hundred million tons.

In agriculture, he said, large-scale mechanisation and electrification had resulted in new breeding and culture methods. He instanced perennial wheat which sown once yielded four or five harvests.

We give here only one instance of the application of science to meet the need of the people in Soviet Russia. Immediately following the German invasion of Russia in 1941, shortage of food was apprehended and the Government of the U.S.S.R. ordered a large increase in the potato crop. This policy presented very serious practical difficulties. Apart from the huge losses of valuable agricultural land, which was by no means balanced by the loss of population requiring to be fed, it was impossible to provide the necessary quantity of seed. In the ordinary way potato crops are raised by planting seed potatoes taken from the crop of the previous year. The seed potatoes sprout at the "eyes" and these sprouts give rise to the new season's plants. After sprouting, the bulk of the seed potato rots in the ground. The order to increase potato crops meant that the growers would have to take more potatoes as seed, while at the same time circumstances demanded the greatest possible economy of existing supplies for use as food. Professor Lysenko and his colleagues at the Lenin All-Union Agricultural Academy devised a satisfactory method of overcoming this difficulty. In their method, the crowns of the potatoes, containing most of the eyes, are sliced off and used in place of the whole tuber. While normal seed must be sown at the rate of some 15 cwt. per acre, when crowns are used, only 3 cwt. is required. There is therefore a saving of about 80 per cent of the unused portion of the tuber being unimpaired for use as food. The crop is at least as good as when whole seed is used and in many cases appears to be less liable to disease. In 1942, 250,000 acres were sown in Russia by the new method, while this was increased *tenfold* in 1943. As a result 8 to 9 million tons of extra potatoes were obtained in 1943 without in any way reducing the quantity available for food in 1942. For this work, Prof. Lysenko has been awarded the Stalin Prize for Agriculture. Another value of the Russian work lies in the development of methods of cutting and drying the crowns by which they will withstand ordinary conditions of transport and can be stored for considerable periods.

The Lysenko method has been immediately adopted for potato cultivation on the American continent. In the U.S.A. the "potato eye" trade is now well established and it is rapidly coming into general use in Canada for supplying the more remote regions. The Scientific and Research Institutes and agricultural departments under the Central and Provincial Governments of India, however remain mere

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onlookers. The most that a Bengal Government marketing officer could do was to tell the people over the radio that want of potatoes was being keenly felt because there were no potatoes.

Pre-requisites of an Indian Navy

New Delhi, Oct. 6.—Vice-Admiral H. Godfrey, Flag Officer Commanding, the Royal Indian Navy in an address to the Delhi Rotary Club stressed the importance of seapower to India and pointed out four pre-requisites of an efficient Indian navy.

"Ninety per cent of India's export trade", he said, "is seaborne. *It only requires half a dozen Japanese cruisers in the Bay of Bengal to bring the trade of Calcutta, for instance to a standstill.* Even an army of two million men in India can do nothing to prevent it."

The four pre-requisites of an efficient Indian navy mentioned by Vice-Admiral Godfrey were "a corps of officers who devote the whole of their life to the service and look ahead," a fine mercantile marine, a link-up of industry for the production of war machines and popular backing of the service.

The foremost pre-requisite was, however, not mentioned by Vice-Admiral Godfrey. It is essential that India should possess a powerful navy, consisting both of mercantile marine and warships to protect it, in her own interest. That she has the wealth to spend on the building of a first class navy may be proved from the simple fact that she has been able to grant a credit for over a thousand crore of rupees to England with very little prospect of that money being paid back. It is not for nothing that all Indian attempts to build up her own navy have been systematically prevented.

Microfilms May Replace Books

J. B. S. Haldane, writing in the *Workers' Star* of Australia, describes a new invention destined to revolutionise the modern methods of acquisition of knowledge. He says :

The new invention is this. An entire book is photographed on a film.

This is not, however, an ordinary photographic or cinema film, but a microfilm only just over an inch across.

It is quite thin, and far too small to read directly. So its image is projected on to a screen with an electric light.

The reading machine is about two feet high, and can be stood on an ordinary table. At present it costs about £15 and is not for sale, though a few have been given by the Rockefeller Foundation to British libraries.

The revolutionary fact is the extreme smallness of the films. A whole book rolls up into a case a good deal smaller than a reel of cotton. You could carry the Encyclopaedia Britannica in one pocket, and the whole library of the British Museum could be stored in a fair-sized house.

Microfilms have been used for some years in America, particularly for scientific publications. But in spite of the efforts of Mr. Watson Davis, of the American Science Service, most people regarded them as an amusing toy rather than a serious invention.

But the war has altered this. It is impossible to get European scientific journals in any numbers, though single sets of many can be got through Portugal, Turkey or Sweden. But they can be photographed on films.

Reading machines are now available in the Science Library in London, among other places, and the journals can be read from microfilms, of which there are a number of copies.

Demand for Control of the Waters of the Nile

Increasing reference is being made in the vernacular press to Egypt's claims on the condominium of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. The general feeling is that time has come for the fusion of Sudan and Egypt into one kingdom.

Nationalists have been joined by the Wafd and the Opposition Press in voicing the "Sudan for Egypt" slogan. They claim that Egypt should control the waters of the Nile. Both the Liberal and the Nationalist Parties are urging the Premier Nahas Pasha to have a round table conference of all Egyptian parties to secure recognition by the Allies of Egypt's wartime support to the democracies. Meanwhile the Egyptian Government has decided to form a Sudan Department to deal with all questions concerning the Sudan in its relations with Egypt, and, following the appointment of an official trade delegate at Khartoum, traders have begun exchanges with the Sudan. The question of the present joint Anglo-Egyptian rule over the Sudan was left in suspense as one of the four reserves of the declaration of independence. It was also left for future negotiations under the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936. Foremost among these questions are now the complete independence of the Valley of the Nile, modification of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty, the evacuation of British troops from Egypt and the proposed Arab Federation.

The Nationalist

We welcome our new contemporary *The Nationalist*. In a signed editorial, declaring the aims and purposes of the new daily Dr. Symaprasad Mookerjee candidly states, "A new journal, let us not try to disguise the fact, springs from the consciousness of purposes yet unfulfilled." Dr. Mookerjee continues:

The *Nationalist* will be found to be truly nationalist . . . . Our aim is to foster the habit of robust independent thinking in our readers which alone can lead the country out of the morass in which it finds itself today . . . . We have our faiths and our convictions. One of them is the faith in the power, the dignity, the glory of a United India, giving equal opportunities to all her children, of whatever caste, creed or community . . . . This is our creed, and this our charter; and we believe in the irresistible power for good of the cordial co-operative effort of the millions of our countrymen, irrespective of their local or circumstantial differences. In their diversity we still perceive an essential unity."

The appearance of *The Nationalist* will be more than justified if it can realise the Indian nationalist ideal of an achievement of unity out of diversity, which is more apparent than real.

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THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

The biggest event in October has been the commencement of the American assault on the Philippines. After a task force had probed deep into the inner defence lines of Japan a landing was made on Leyte island of the Philippine group on the 19th of October. Japanese naval forces attempted an interception and the biggest naval battle of this war followed. The results of this action were very satisfactory for the American forces and according to the latest U. S. A. reports the Japanese navy has received a crushing defeat. In the air the U. S. A. airforces have been able to meet the challenge of land-based Japanese 'planes and as a result the ground forces received all the support they needed. Good progress was made in Samar and Leyte in spite of stubborn and organised enemy resistance. The U. S. A. landings have been made in force and General MacArthur has begun his campaign for the re-conquest of the Philippines under the best conditions possible under the circumstances.

The battle of East Asia has at last begun in real earnest though the peak is as yet far off. Up till now there have been minor engagements, limited in scope and attritional in nature. The fight in the main islands of the Philippines is yet to come and despite all handicaps the Japanese are bound to put up a fierce resistance, for here they are in force and under the command of one of Japan's best Generals. This trial round will really indicate the quality of Japan's war-machine and will further show what technical progress Japan has been able to achieve during the two years and a half that have elapsed since the capture of Manila. The re-conquest of the Philippines is not going to be an easy job by any means, although if the Japanese navy has been really crippled to the extent that the U. S. A. authorities believe, then the defence will not be in a position of advantage for very long. Without sea-borne supplies the defenders will soon feel the strain and with the command of the sea and the air General MacArthur should be able to mount his offensive to a crescendo at a fast pace, with further landings of men and material on a progressively increasing rate. But whatever the results of the naval battle might have been, it must not be imagined that the Japanese forces on land would fight with any the less ferocity or vigour. Up till now there has not been any real test of strength between the Japanese and the western Allies on a commensurate scale, and it is now imperative for both sides to measure the steel of their opponents in preparation for the final issue. Full reports of the naval battles are not yet available, and in all probability further battles are impending. Mr. Roosevelt's announcement seems to be definite with regard to the crippling of the Japanese fleet and Admiral Nimitz is equally positive about the severe damage inflicted on it. The Philippine campaign should, therefore, proceed without a hitch to a speedy conclusion. If the Japanese are driven out of the Philippines and the Formosa waters dominated by the American naval and air armadas, then China might expect some measure of a respite in the near future. All these are, however, mere speculations at the present stage, time alone will demonstrate the reality.

China is indeed in need of relief. Seven long years of a devastating war against a ruthless enemy equipped with modern weapons against which China can only pit the flesh and blood of her sons. Unfair criticism of the Chinese forces have appeared in the press of her allies. These self-same Allies she had aided to the limit of her capacity—and beyond—in the days of their trials. Now that the tide has turned, it is easy to forget that debt of honour and to adopt a superior attiude, as is only to be expected of "superior" races. But one may be excused for speculating as to what would have happened if China had thrown up the sponge in 1942, or for that matter, what might yet happen if she crumples up now. However, let us hope that the dawn is not so very far off as it seems to be just now. For the present one can only hope that the Japanese offensive in China has come very near its end. At the moment Japan's stranglehold on China is far stronger than it has ever been before and if the offensive makes further substantial progress, America's task will be heavy indeed when the time comes for the final conflict, and, as it is, it is not light by any accounting even now.

The monsoons are over and the campaigning season is open on the Burma front. Strangely enough one hears of the possibility of a fresh Japanese offensive and that from no less a person than Mr. Churchill. The total Japanese strength in Burma has been variously estimated as being between six to ten divisions, that is to say somewhere in the neighbourhood of 150,000 men. Of these about 50,000 have been slaughtered, according to Mr. Churchill's accounting, and the reminder are said to be in a very low state of physical fitness. And as for their equipment and morale both have been repeatedly reported as being poor. If that be so, then why in all reason is there any talk of a *Japanese* offensive, instead of a major assault on Burma, to clear the road to China and to

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relieve distress in India and to restore to us the barest minimum living conditions. It is all very puzzling indeed in whatever way the published records be looked at. Then comes the recall of Stilwell to cap all. This Allied leader had experience, some knowledge of terrain and a certain amount of success—achieved under great handicaps—to his credit. We confess we have no knowledge of "inner facts" but we must say that the reasons given for his recall in the British and the American press do not seem to be quite adequate. There is some mystery about the affair which will be revealed after the war is over, that is to say if it be ever at all.

To sum up, the positions at present in the Eastern theatres of war are as follows. In the Pacific, a new phase has been entered into by this bold bid on the part of the U. S. A. armed forces for the reoccupation of the Philippines. This is the first major assault upon the Japanese defences and much will depend on the events of the next few weeks. In China the Japanese campaign is still making headway and the situation still remains grave. The Japanese have achieved considerable success, and if they are left in undisputed possession of their fresh gains for any length of time, then serious complications may arise in the execution of the Allied plans for the war against Japan. In Burma, according to press reports, the initiative is entirely in the hands of the Allies, whereas, according to Mr. Churchill, the Japanese might possibly seize it again.

Winter is fast approaching in Europe, and in its train come weather and climatic conditions that would clamp down brakes on all large-scale offensives in those regions. In Eastern Europe this year's campaign of the Soviets is already meandering down to a slow ding-dong fight. In East Prussia the Russian advance has come to a standstill and further south the Soviets are now hitting at key points. But a great deal has been attained by the Russians within this month of October. The Germans have been driven out of Rumania and a large section of the Balkans. In the Northern sectors the German forces have been driven back across Finnish territory, beyond the Norwegian border. East Prussia has been invaded, and the Baltic States substantially cleared of the enemy. With the coming of winter the Soviets will be in a more difficult position with regard to the conduction of a Winter campaign this year. In the previous three years the Germans had to undergo all the rigours of a Russian winter in the shelterless open and with hundreds of miles of devastated country in their rear, over which transport conditions were almost hopeless. This winter the position is reversed and therefore there might be a lull in the fighting in Eastern Europe until next spring. There remain barely three weeks more of campaigning season in Eastern Europe and there is no indication as yet of the possibility of a major break-through either in the East Prussian or the Polish defence lines of the Germans. Therefore, there is hardly any possibility of any decisive battles being fought in Eastern Europe within this year, unless the defending German forces are further substantially weakened by calls made on their reserves for service in other theatres of war. In Western Europe the Allies are still fighting hard for a decision. Aachen has been occupied after a long-drawn struggle and some slight progress made further down the line. Fresh landings have been made on the Dutch coast and Belgium has been nearly cleared of the enemy. But the fighting has been extremely bitter and progress exceedingly slow all this month. Now with wintry weather destroying visibility and clogging up the roads and fields, the defence will be in a more advantageous position and therefore progress will have to be either slow or else dearly bought. And therefore in the West too the Germans will probably be able to hold substantially to their positions for the next few months in spite of the immense discrepancy in numerical strength of the opponents, the strength of the Germans being estimated at 600,000 in the West and that of the Allied forces under Eisenhower at anything up to 30,00,000 or more. The Germans are fighting with great skill and with extreme stubbornness everywhere and there is no apparent slackening in their fighting opposition anywhere on this front either. In Italy the same slow progress in the face of bitter and skilled defensive fighting continues.

In short the German effort to pin down the offensives of the United Nations to a static condition of positional warfare still continues and winter conditions are likely to help them. Germany has lost all her satellites, with the exception of a few Hungarian divisions, her own fighting strength has also come down to below 20,00,000 according to Allied estimates. But in spite of all this there does not seem to be any cracking up of her morale or letting-down in her war-effort. There is still talk about fighting down the Allied campaigns to a standstill and of holding on till the opponents' will-to-fight is worn out. All this points to a prolongation of the war in Europe. We had remarked in these columns in a previous issue that we could not perceive any reasons for hoping for an early end of the war in Europe, and now the portents do not tend to belie our apprehensions. Allied officers are reported to be of the opinion that this struggle will continue well into 1945. So Germany's efforts at gaining time—we do not know to what end—seem likely to succeed to some extent.

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THE NEED OF THE HOUR

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

The whole governmental propaganda machinery is at full blast in proclaiming that everything is well with the province of Bengal. Serious attempts have been made in the recent past to minimise the magnitude of the famine disaster of 1943 and to ask people to disbelieve their eyes and to discredit their own sufferings. Costly official literature inundates Bengal giving the *humanly possible exploits* of the Ministry during the famine which resulted in the death of approximately fifty lakhs of the helpless and hapless population of Bengal. Behind this smokescreen, a makebelieve rehabilitation scheme is working commensurate with the capacity of the Bengal Government for planning and its execution.

The whole province, in spite of the Government and their propaganda, is going deeper and deeper in the depths of misery in the form of economic ruin, degeneration in health, growing illiteracy, mass destitution and consequent depopulation. The weakness of the Government is noticeable in their sensitiveness to all forms of honest criticism from quarters that are above all bias or prejudice. It is passing strange that comments from persons who are fit to adorn the *musnuds* of not only the provinces but of the centre itself or to become a Minister of the Crown, who have witnessed the actual miseries with their own eyes in the huts of villages far away from town, who have relations and friends in the province itself, are resented in undignified language by the head of the executive who happens to be present here by an accident. He is not conversant with the joys and sorrows, troubles and tribulations of a people who for the dark shade in their skin are not allowed to be a citizen of His Excellency's country. His Excellency suffers from a handicap that his tours do not bring im to the doors of the destitutes and he has not the opportunity of hearing the tales of woe from the lips of the sufferers themselves. His contacts are restricted to 'loyal' subjects of His Majesty who gather round him to sing hallelujah to British rule and paeans of praise to every ruling satrap of the province. The weakness of the present government is further disclosed in their attempt at hiding truth. And in their mad pursuit they did not hesitate to suppress materials for future history by prohibiting publication of current prices of rice in the districts in the *Calcutta Gazette*. Public resentment ran high against this measure, but with no effect.

The 'popular' Ministers of the province have been drawn mainly from one particular group receiving their support and inspiration from rank communalism and maintaining their existence through statements which in the most crucial days of the famine have in every detail proved to be untrue.

About the past, the less said the better; but past experience may indicate the future lines of action. It has been discovered that the present Government equipment is hopelessly inadequate to cope with any abnormal situation. The people having lost confidence in the Ministry partly due to their (the Ministry's) eagerness to satisfy their white 'masters' both in and outside the Legislature and partly to a combination of causes which are widely known and need no enumeration, look for an organisation which will combine deep sympathy with intimate knowledge of the prevailing conditions of the province. Such a body is absolutely necessary both in the interests of the government and the governed. Through such a body the Government may put their case to the public which has some chance of acceptance. The people need it very badly for their own existence or to save themselves from further sufferings.

It is not known when the Report of the present Famine Enquiry Commission will be published and whether their findings or recommendations will be given effect to if they are unpalatable to the Government. It is for this and for many other reasons that a Central Public Organisation should be formed and proceed ith its business immediately on formation.

India has become a home of chronic poverty and recurrent famines and Bengal has witnessed three of the worst famine under British rule, *viz.*, in 1770, 1866 and again in 1943. The causes have aggravated with the growing power of the British and thorough neglect of agriculture, loss of industry, economic drain, indiscriminate raisings of bunds and high roads interfering with the natural slope of the country and obstructing the flow of flood water, etc. These have caused shortage of food, spread of malaria, economic impoverishment and occasional famines. These and some others may be termed as the *remote causes* while the *immediate causes* for each famine while differing in minor details agree in certain broad aspects. These should be gone into by the Committee. Various causes of the last famine, some of a very grave nature, have been attributed by various agencies, and it is necessary that a sifting enquiry should be made to find out the truth. It may possibly be that some of these allegations would prove false on such enquiry.

The next question to deal with is the *extent of the disaster* in respect of (i) loss of human life, (ii) economic damage, (iii) incidence of diseases or effects on the health of the population, and (iv) disruption of family and increasing dependence of the people on the State.

In the last famine the mortality figures were placed at an incredibly low level. Non-official enquiry should be directed to this end to ascertain the exact figure. This can be done in the course of investigation of cases of destitution and ill-health in each family for preventing death and giving some chance of success to the rehabilitation scheme of the Government. Non-official enquiry so far undertaken unmistakably reveals that death rate during 1943 in different parts of Bengal was throughout well over 12 per cent of the population. The sample survey carried on by the Anthropology Department of the Calcutta University places it at "ten per cent, during six months". Assuming that figures for the other six months when famine was not present was just one-fourth of this figure, it is nothing less than 12½ per cent of the whole population. A house-to-house census in Union No. 14, P.S. Magrahat, 24-Pergs., comprising 18 villages, and 1,889 family units with a total population of 10,745 show a mortality of 1,266, *i.e.*, 11·78 per cent. A similar investigation in Union No. II, P.S. Mathurapur, 24-Pergs., discloses 1,018 dead and 112 missing or 1,130 in a population of 7,312 or 15·4 per cent. The case of Union III in the same Police Station gives a figure of 856 dead and 30 missing in a population of 7,642 or 11·5 per cent. The figures for the cyclone-affected area of Midnapore are nowhere less than 17 per cent, and mortality varied between 11·8 and 15·3 per cent in each of the five villages in five widely separated different unions in the Faridpur district where such census was undertaken by Prof. K. Mukherji, an ardent student of economics. I believe that Munshiganj and Manikganj in the Dacca district will present much higher percentages of death. On the basis of such careful investigation it can be safely said that

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nearly 65 lakhs of people died in Bengal in 1943. The average number of deaths per year in Bengal is nearly 12 lakhs. The rest, that is, the excess over the average, must be attributed to the abnormal causes prevailing in Bengal during 1943.

In a similar manner the effects of the famine on other spheres of the society may be ascertained in the course of taking up rehabilitation work in hand. To prevent further death from starvation or prolonged undernourishment the Government should know the number of persons and/ or families who require help for a certain period or throughout the twelve months of the year. Unless food is ready at hand, people will migrate to other areas for food and other necessaries of life. The distributing agencies should comprise persons who will not have assembled for gain but in a spirit of service to protect co-villagers, and indirectly themselves and their families. The countryside, barring the holdings of those agriculturists who are fortunate in having their own stock of grains, is silently suffering for want of food and other necessaries of life due to the unusually high price demanded for them, and in spite of what the Government spokesman says and reiterates at convenient intervals, deaths are not scarce due directly to starvation or the consequences of it. Here is a typical case which appeared in the *Hindusthan Standard* (October 3, 1944) :

"A news from village Andharmanik within the Satkania P.S. is reported of a tragic death of the 8-year-old girl of a destitute woman Satyabhama by name. Satyabhama was a labourer and from sometime past she was out of employment with the consequence that *the girl passed eleven days without food and died of starvation.*"

Reports of deaths of *sick destitutes* are published in the papers everyday. The district towns in Bengal have their own tales to tell. It is necessary that the newspapers should be allowed to print all cases of destitutes so that the searchlight of publicity may disclose the plague-spots of declining supply of food in Bengal.

The non-official organisations, which are manfully fighting disease, in one voice complain about shortage of drugs and particularly of quinine. The Government version that malaria and other diseases are on the wane is not accepted by the people. The present condition is not such as the Government want us to believe. In the district of Jessore, there were 16,606 births between January and June, 1944, and 28,517 deaths, that is there were 11,911 more deaths than births. The Government is busy counting the number of tablets that are expected to check malaria, but they are not as much successful in making arrangements for their proper distribution. Here again the necessity of an organisation enjoying the confidence of the people comes in.

After all, what is quinine to a man who is deprived of not only the requisite diet but even the normal meal? What effects medicine can produce when the patient has to live under canopy of the sky due to complete dilapidation of his hut? He has not sufficient cover and other things, to mitigate the rigours of malarial paroxysm, which might allay his distress and put him on the way to recovery.

Other remedial measures that are immediately necessary for lessening the sufferings of the people are the proper treatment of the sick, restoration of land, cattle and agricultural implements, reconstruction of huts, reconditioning of industrial tools and implements and restoration of old trade or calling. There are so many things wanting that it would be useless to try to exhaust the list and it is wise to pursue the prudent policy of His Excellency the Governor of Bengal adopted in his last broadcast and not to speak anything about them. What is the situation regarding education in the province. Next to life and health, education has suffered the most due to causes that were *humanly possible* to prevent. There is dearth of paper, of books, writing materials, illuminating oil, etc. The young students languish from want of proper food; they have to tend the sick. Their fees are in arrears and a considerable number of them have given up their studies for pecuniary stringency in the family. The high prices of vegetables, fish, milk, oil, sugar, clothings, salt and other necessities of life, affect prosecution of studies by students of the middle class families in the first instance. Over and above such handicaps, their services are requisitioned for procurement of foodstuffs and other articles that re not available near at hand but which are indispensable for keeping body and soul together. What steps have been taken to put education on the footing it deserves? Who knows how many of the students had to give up studies due to famine conditions and what number of them are to be restored to their former position? And about the teachers, what shall I say?

Behind this programme of bringing immediate succour to the people, there must be a well-laid plan for ensuring convalescence and a speedy recovery of Bengal now lying prostrate and low. The state's duty for feeding the population in times of distress should be unequivocally declared. Effective measures for improvement in the yield of land, in methods of production and distribution are the crying need of the hour. There has been a mere tinkering with the problem so long. Bengal has already spent over one crore of rupees in the 'Grow More Food' Campaign, but with what result? There should be renovation of the departments of Agriculture, Health, Irrigation and Industries if anything tangible is to be achieved. The *nine-hundred-and-fifty-lakhs-gamble* in the shape of the Bengal Rehabilitation Scheme is before the government and a large portion of it must have been spent by this time. But the progress so far effected is not at all satisfactory. The Bengal Rural Reconstruction Department ushered into existence with great *fanfaronade* has gone into oblivion. What are this department's attainments? Foreign experts are pouring in more profusely than the floods of the Damodar. Special departments are sprouting up more quickly than weeds and what is the position of Bengal today regarding food, health, education and rural industries?

The province is being burdened with enormous expenditure and the finances show marks of extreme exhaustion. The Hon'ble the Finance Minister perforce is paving the way for the state of Bengal to be transferred to the care of a Court of Wards. At such a juncture taxes and more taxes are necessary to meet the growing demands of administration. What Government could think of doubling the Sales Tax when prices of articles of every day use had risen by 500 per cent to 600 per cent. The agricultural income tax bill is on the legislative anvil and one does not know what further taxation measures are bothering the head of the Hon'ble the Finance Minister.

While Government is going merrily on with the help of foreigners, the estrangement between the people and the Government is getting wider everyday. If some sort of *rapprochement* can not be effected the province will gradually lose all vitality for recoupment. Let a competent body be set up immediately to advise the Government on the rehabilitation scheme and look into the interests of the millions who have lost all strength not only of resistance but of giving adequate expression to their feeling of suffering and despair.

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THE LETTERS OF YEATS

By AMALENDU BOSE, M.A.

It is pleasant to watch Homer nod sometimes. In the letters of W. B. Yeats to Dorothy Wellesley (Oxon. U.P., 1940), one does enjoy meeting misspellings that would horrify a schoolmaster. The distortions of names like Elliot (T. S.) and Lennin one might overlook; but what about "sugger" (sugar), "pessamism", "dellusion", "precission", "rhythmes", "phisically", "mantlepeice", "intreaguers", "negociation", "bare" (bear), "endeed" (indeed), "poleice", "alledged"? This "characteristic spelling"—to use Dorothy Wellesley's apologetic euphemism, adds to the value of the letters by establishing a rapport between the poet and his reader. A poet's familiar correspondence is too often inclined to be obtrusively self-conscious and oracular; sometimes it is undistinguishable from any common sequence of letters, being merely a lumber of personal details of domestic life or travels. Between Yeats and Lady Gerald Wellesley whom he met during the last years of his life, a beautiful friendship sprang up quickly despite a difference in social position, a friendship to which we owe these letters full of strong human interest. To the admirer of Yeats, these letters are priceless literary documents inasmuch as they lift "a curtain on the creative processes of a great poet" with the same degree of authenticity as wherewith they offer revealing discussions of recent poetry and events. Reading through the letters one agrees fully with Dorothy Wellesley's remark in the foreword : "Here may be seen, month by month, often week by week, the spontaneous flow of his extraordinary intellectual vitality during the last four years of his life; those years when he showed not only that his creative power was as vigorous as ever, but also that he was still reaching forward into new forms of expression."

That the earlier letters refer constantly to contemporary poets and poetry is no more than what we expect since at this period Yeats was preparing his anthology of modern verse. His dislike of Wilfrid Owen's poetry is well-known; not so known is this reaction to Ezra Pound : "I am tired, I have spent the day reading Ezra Pound for the Anthology—a single strained attitude instead of passion, the sexless American professor for all his violence". Compared to Yeats's official evaluation of Pound in the Introduction to the Oxford Book of Modern Verse, this intimate opinion is a home-truth that tells. Generally speaking, Yeats admires modern poetry and his appreciation is a worthy counterpart of the homage which younger English poets pay him. "Now that I have had all my Anthology in galley proof I am astonished at the greatness of much of the poetry, and at its sadness". To Lady Dorothy he writes : "I have found most excitement in your work, in that of Elinor Wylie, in that of Richard Hughes". He is "excited by certain philosophical poems" of W. J. Turner's one of whose poems, he says, "rends my heart". He praises Laura Riding. and "a young poet called George Barker, a lovely subtle mind and a rhythmical invention comparable to Gerard Hopkins". Evidently Yeats's literary likes and dislikes are coloured by his predispositions towards philosophy. "I want especially the names of any books that are philosophies as *Barren Leaves* is",—a personal preference that is enlivened by the shrewd judgment that behind Huxley's satire is a satire which has for theme the whole of life. He hates *The Edwardians* of Miss Sackville-West because the "hero is passive and the assumption throughout is that everybody is passive". This denunciation of the passive attitude to life in literature cannot fail to remind the reader of Yeats's now-famous rejection of passivity-inspired War-poetry, a rejection of which the dialectic appears in this extract :

"I find", he writes, "this dialogue in the *Upanishad*: 'I want to think.' 'You cannot think without faith.' 'How can I get faith ?' 'You cannot get faith without action'."

It is a lack of this fundamental faith and faith-sustained action that rebukes some poetry of the Great War, and one feels that Yeats's exclusion of the Owen-group from his Anthology cannot lightly be quashed. Much less sound, however, seems to be his joyous observation of what he calls "the sudden return of philosophy into English literature round about 1925". No doubt some individual modern poets have been inclined the way of philosophical writing, Dorothy Wellesley, W. J. Turner (later works), Edwin Muir (not admitted in Yeats' galaxy), Lascelles Abercrombie and some others, yet it would be too sweeping a generalization to suggest that the movement of modern English poetry as a whole is in the direction of philosophy. The movement seems rather to be in the direction of sometimes a sardonic, sometimes a pugnacious social awareness.

Of the propagandist clamour of 'proletariat writers' Yeats had knowledge enough. A believer in the aristocracy of the intellect and the aristocracy of character, Yeats was naturally out of sympathy with the over-zealous claims of communism, and more than once in these letters minces no part of his disdain for the demands made by the communists upon literature. Of a certain reviewer he writes, "Men of his kind when they take to proletarian politics copy the worst manners of the mob". Further down in the same letter he says: "When I take a woman in my arms I do not want to change her. If I saw her in rags I would get her better clothes that I might resume my contemplation. But these communists put their heads in the rags and smother." A Marxist would hardly relish Yeats's rhetorical query, "What was Karl Marx but Macaulay with his heels in the air ?" (*On the Boiler*, p. 17). Amid the turbid political passions of our times, partisan critics have rushed to dub Yeats a Fascist; the truth is, to use Cecil Day Lewis' sympathetic description, Yeats belonged to the aristocratic tradition which he had inherited from Irish history and which inspired him to a sense of responsibility towards his country that was only excelled by his sense of responsibility towards his art. No doctrinaire in political opinions, Yeats thus writes in *On the Boilers*, a book which he calls in the letters his *Fors Clavigera* ("For the first time in my life I am saying what are my political beliefs"):

"I was six years in the Irish Senate. I am not ignorant of politics elsewhere, and on other grounds I have some right to speak. I say to those that shall rule here: 'If ever Ireland again seems molten wax, reverse the process of revolution. Do not try to pour Ireland into any political system. Think first how many able men with public minds the country has, how many it can hope to have in the near future, and mould your system upon these men. It does not matter how you get them. Republics, Kingdoms, Soviets, Corporate States, Parliaments, are trash, as Hugo said of something else 'not worth one blade of grass that God gives for the nest of the linnet.' These men, whether six or six thousand, are the core of Ireland, are Ireland itself."

Such a political ideology, essentially nationalist in outlook and individualist in character, is certain to incur the hostility of the Marxist with whom the individual is merely a cog in the super-wheel of the proletarian state, and yet however, the philosophy of individualism has not been proved a fallacy, neither a political error nor a moral obliquity. Yeats's Indian readers, at any rate, of which India ought to feel that a country which is rich with centuries-long tradition, which has the living memory of a pre-

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historic or early historical age of heroic glory nd beauty to inspire the people in the farm-house and the work-house alike, must naturally respect the integrity of the individual above the sensationalism of political experiments.

Time and again, Yeats pleads for the heroic ideal of life. In one letter he speaks of "watching romance and nobility disappear". Elsewhere he says, "It is we, not the east, that must raise the heroic cry". He thinks that "the true poetic movement of our time is towards some heroic discipline," and, "at last, I shall, I think, sing the heroic song I have longed for—perhaps my swan-song". In that swan-song, a poem which he sent to Dorothy Wellesley under the title *His Convictions* (afterwards altered as *Under Ben Bulben*), Yeats exhorts Irish poets to an adherence to tradition and heroic nobility of character.

Irish poets, learn your trade,
Sing whatever is well made,
Scorn the sort now growing up
All out of shape from toe to top,
Their unremembering hearts and heads
Base-born products of base beds.
Sing the peasantry, and then
Hard-riding country gentlemen,
The holiness of monks, and after
Porter-drinkers' randy laughter ;
Sing the lords and ladies gay
That were beaten into the clay
Through seven heroic centuries;
Cast your mind on other days
That we in coming days may be
Still the indomitable Irishry.

(*Last Poems and Plays*, p. 91)

Of this stubborn ideal of a heroic life which he offered younger Irishmen and himself pursued through all the harrowing decrepitude of old age and a weak constitution, illuminating offshoots are evidenced in these letters. As we read how he confronted the country priests who came to denounce "the Abbey for blasphemy, calling on the government to withdraw our subsidy and institute a censorship of the stage", all for the offence of producing O'Casey's *Silver Tassie*, we have a glimpse of the indomitable spirit that burned within the aged frame. In 1935, when De Valera, out of loyalty to the League of Nations, "ranged Ireland on the side of England and against the country of the Pope", Yeats apprehended the eclipse of his much-cherished heroic ideal through political expediency : "I dread crushing taxation, fewer and fewer people with enough financial independence for intellectual courage". With a passionate outburst he justifies his two vitriolic, Swiftian ballads on the Roger Casement episode :

"I am fighting in those ballads for what I have been fighting all my life, it is our Irish fight though it has nothing to do with this or that country. Bernard Shaw fights with the same object. When somebody talks of justice, who knows that justice is accompanied by secret forgery, when an archbishop wants a man to go the communion table, when that man says he is not spiritually fit, then we remember our age-old quarrel against gold-brayed and ermine and that our ancestor Swift has gone where 'fierce indignation can lacerate his heart no more', and we go stark, staring mad."

The passion with which Yeats confronted the changing political and social manners about him was only the effervescence of a ceaseless inner growth and an insistent search after new, adequate, poetic forms. "I have a longing to escape into a new theme—I am tired of my *little personal poetry.*"* He speaks of a ferment having come upon his imagination and assures Dorothy Wellesley that if he writes more poetry it will be unlike anything that he has done. The posthumous volume, *Last Poems*, does indeed show that till the very end, the great poet was reaching out equally to new forms and new thoughts. The dominant idea of this never-stale artist during the closing years of his life was to come by "the common speech of the people", not "the speech of the common people". We find him unsatisfied even with that incomparable penultimate style of his—hard, austere, sharp and agile,—which appeared now to be not direct enough, not fully natural. Writing to Dorothy Wellesley, he comments on the road to poetry followed by Mallarme and several of his own contemporaries :

"It is not your road or mine, and ours is the main road, the road of naturalness and swiftness and we have thirty centuries upon our side. We alone can 'think like a wise man, yet express ourselves like the common people.' These new men are goldsmiths working with a glass screwed into one eye, whereas we stride ahead of the crowd, its swordsmen, its jugglers, looking to right and left. 'To right and left' by which I mean that we need like Milton, Shakespeare, Shelley, vast sentiments, generalizations supported by tradition."

An American writer who calls his style 'public' pleases him; it is this publicness of style that he would develop now, a style to suit his mature judgments on men and things, attaining to supple directness with equal ease in a serious poem like *The Municipal Gallery Revisited* and the magnificent nonsense verses of the *Crazy Jane* series. Some of the poems in this last volume occur also in the letters, and even a cursory study of the changes effected in the final text convinces the reader of the poet's unfailingly careful art. Besides, they prove that in the final phase, Yeats was constantly seeking to overleap the dictional and syntactical barriers between prose and verse. One might find in Yeats's latest practice a convincing vindication of Wordsworth's much-debated dictum about the essential sameness of prose and poetry. In the following passage, syntax and diction ring the same as those of good prose, and yet the glorious spirit of great poetry presides benignly upon the lines.

Infirm and aged I might stay
In some good company,
I who have always hated work,
Smiling at the sea,
Or demonstrate in my own life
What Robert Browning meant
By an old hunter talking with Gods;
But I am not content.

("Are You Content ?"—*Last Poems*)

And these lines open up, what one is confident as the most splendid and reiterative feature of the personal life of Yeats's last days—his utter fearlessness of old age and death. "I thought", he says, "my problem was to face death with gaiety, now I have learnt that it is to face life". Writing of a doctor who attended on him in Spain in 1936, he says : "He is an amusing man; I could always tell by his face when he thought I was going to die. I have no sense of age, no desire for rest, but then perhaps the French saying is true 'It is not a tragedy to grow old, the tragedy is not to grow old'." This is the utterance of a great spirit, one whose irresistible intellectual zest confers upon old age the joy and nobility of a heroic adventure :

A most astonishing thing—
Seventy years have I lived ;

(Hurrah for the flowers of Spring,
For Spring is here again.)

Seventy years have I lived
No ragged beggar-man,
Seventy years have I lived,
Seventy years man and boy,
And never have I danced for joy.

("Imitation from the Japanese"—*Last Poems*)

* Italics are mine.

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When Calcutta sleeps
By Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury

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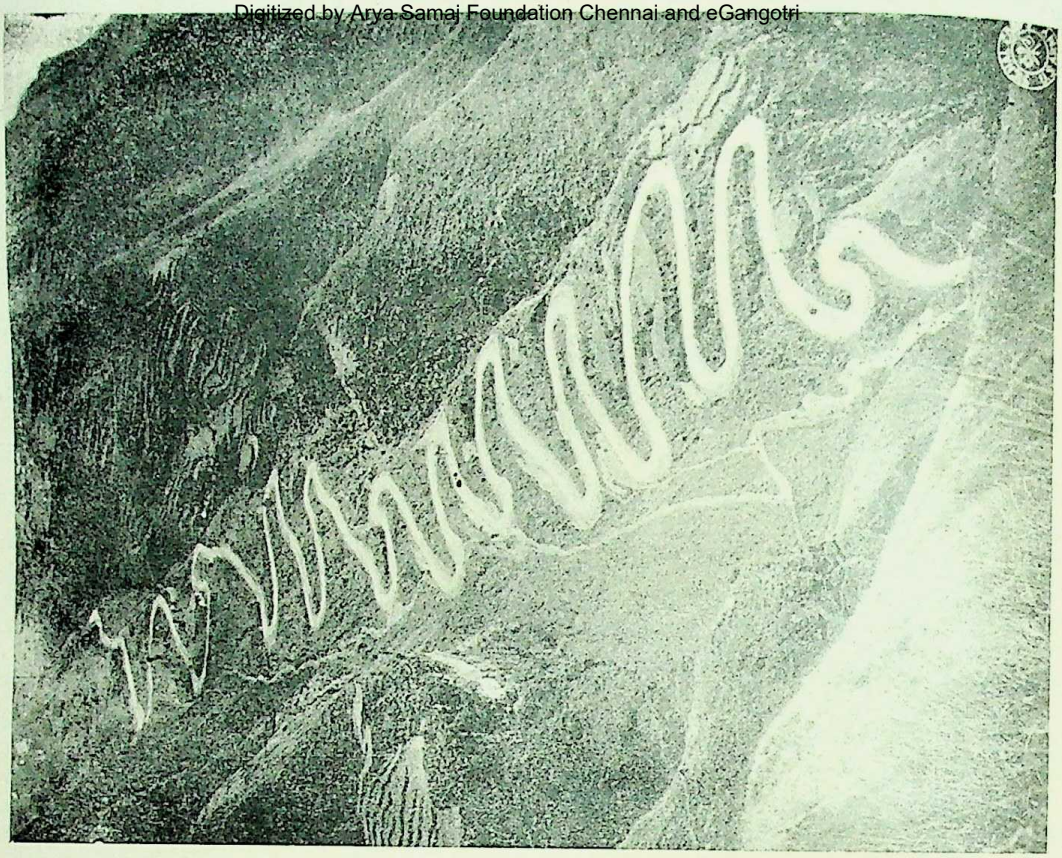
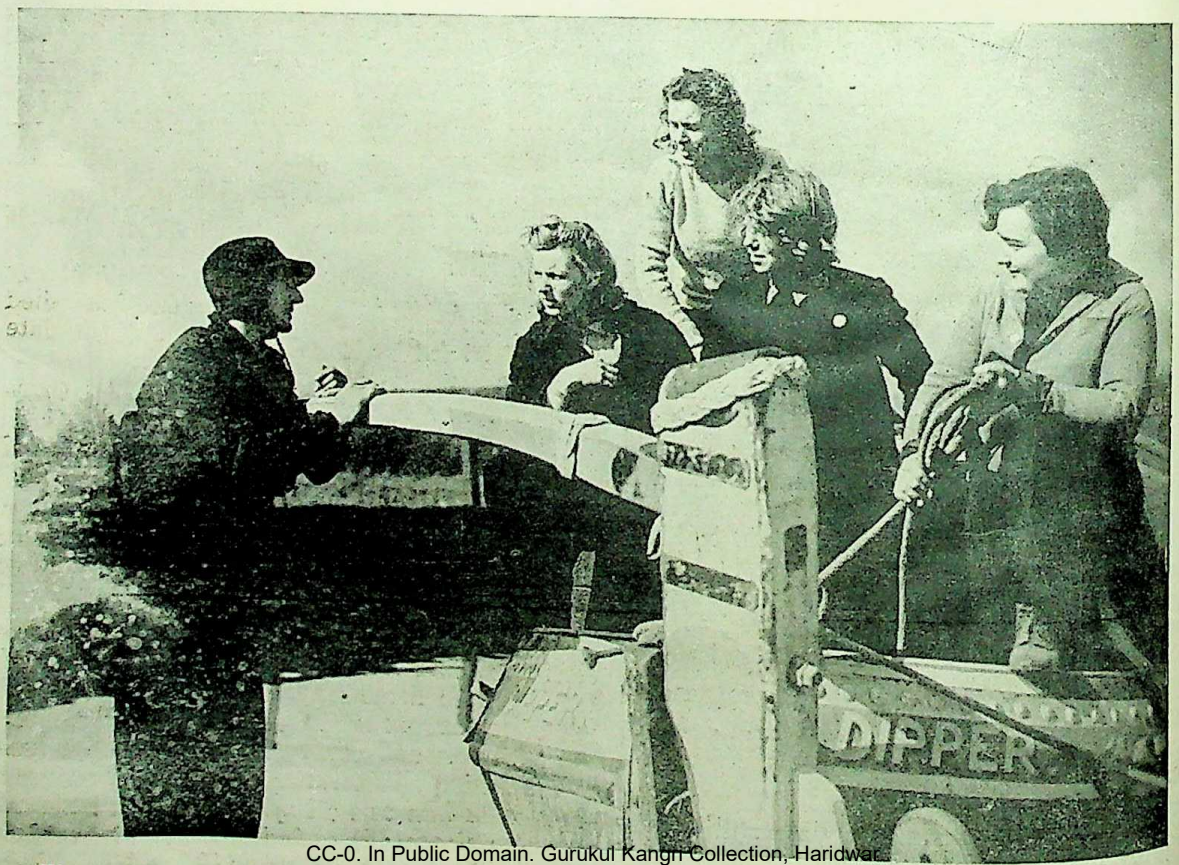


The Burma Road winds through China hills



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Women are now playing a vital part in Britain's transport system by manning the canal barges

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AT UNCLE JAKE'S GRAVESIDE

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

I

Uncle Jake was my wife's uncle. He was my father-in-law's only brother—two or three years younger than he.

Jake, he was called lovingly. It was short for Jacob. That name was given him by his parents when he was a baby. It was his "first," or "Christian" name, and was placed before the "family" name—Kinsey.

These American Kinseys were descendants of an Englishman of adventurous disposition. He had "crossed the pond" in the eighteenth century, from Suffolk, in the southern part of England. There his people had dwelt for centuries. They were yeoman farmers. His father's and kinsfolk's homes were situated not far from London. Had he been alive to-day, he could have motored from his little village to the capital of the British Empire in an hour or so.

Outside the family circle this uncle-in-law of mine was called "Doc. Kinsey." Some who knew him better addressed him as "Doc. Jake." Few Americans say "Doctor". It is too much trouble—and too formal. They almost invariably shorten it into "Doc."

Uncle Jake was a medical man. His elder brother—my father-in-law—went to a pharmaceutical college and became qualified as a pharmacist. Being younger, Jake was more ambitious—wished to do better than that. So he joined a medical college. There he applied himself assiduously to books and lectures. He followed his professors to the bedside of the patients, made a careful note of symptoms, listened to complaints, watched the treatment that was prescribed. He was equally attentive in the operation theatre when one or another surgeon-teacher sewed up a rupture, cut away a limb, or removed a noxious growth from the body. That was before surgery was divested of agony by means of anaesthesia. He passed the final examination with honours and was awarded the Doctorate in Medicine.

Uncle Jake had been dead many years when I first appeared in the small town where he had lived and worked, as did many of his kin—do so still—in Cambridge, Henry County, Illinois. He was not forgotten, however. People spoke of him with respect and affection. He had been a great healer. He had seemed to them to be actually a miracle-man. The prescriptions he had written were treasured by many of his patients, some of whom, thanks to his ministrations, were still alive. Some had been passed on to their progeny as a precious heritage. When any one developed complaints akin to those he had cured, the prescription was taken to the chemist—often to his brother, my father-in-law—and again filled.

II

It was about this time of the year when I first set eyes on Uncle Jake's tomb. Summer was waning, just as it is now. I suppose the sight of the balsams and zinnias withering in the garden in front of my study, as I write this, has served to carry my mind back to that pilgrimage. Uncle Jake was buried in the Kinsey family burial "lot" (plot, in English) in the community graveyard, a couple of miles or so from the small town where that family resided. As we neared the grassy oblong I took off my hat in token of respect to the departed folk. Just then my eye fell upon a grave that looked different from the others round it. Tiny American flags were stuck in the earth that covered it. There was a bit of bunting fluttering over it.

"Uncle Jake's," whispered my wife's sister. "I wish you could have come a few weeks earlier," she went on. "You would have seen it in its glory. We had brought flowers by the armful and blanketed the grave with them. It did look pretty and gay."

She was young and full of life. I was moved by her enthusiasm to pay homage to an uncle who had served the community with professional skill and neighbourly solicitude.

The desire to know why this one particular grave should have been picked out for decoration—and not others in the "lot"—took possession of my heart. So I asked her:

"Was it some special occasion? Was it Uncle Jake's death anniversary?"

"As to his death anniversary," replied my sister-in-law, "I cannot say. Uncle Jake died long before I was born. We can read the date carved on the tomb-stone.

"But it was a special occasion, all right. See, over there. And there . . . and there."

I looked, in the direction in which she had pointed her finger. I saw that other graves had been decorated in a similar manner. Small American flags were stuck in the grass growing over them. There were little bits of bunting blowing in the breeze.

"This was done," she informed me, "on 'Decoration Day.' This falls on May 30th every year. It is a national holiday—a holiday throughout the country. On that day we decorate the graves of the men who fought and bled for the nation. They are thus decorated every year. Every Year."

She wished me to grasp that American idea. I was still a "green-horn" there. She,

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therefore, took pains lest I forget that it was, with my wife's people, an institution. I remember it, even though some 10,000 miles now part that sweet girl from me.

III

So Uncle Jake had been a hero! He had fought and bled for his nation!! How glorious!!! I said all this and more.

"Yes," said my wife, a little older and wiser than her sister, "yes, Uncle Jake heeded the nation's call.

"A war was being fought. It was a cruel war. The United States was not prepared for it. The soldiers it had put into the field were, in consequence, being butchered like sheep led to the slaughter.

"Some one had to go to those poor people—go out to them—care for them. Who better than some one with medical knowledge and surgical skill and experience?

"The soldiers' bleeding wounds had to be staunched. The shattered limbs had to be bound up, the fever cured, diarrhoea, dysentery and other plagues that were raging conquered and eradicated. The nation stood in dire need of men who had knowledge of medicine and surgery and experience in saving life, and the will to use that knowledge and experience to assuage pain, to save limb and life. Uncle Jake had all these qualifications.

"So he went. Uncle Jake went of his own accord—of his own free will. He was not 'drafted in' (the American way of saying conscribed, or as the word is now being twisted, conscripted). Eager to serve his fellow-men, he became an army surgeon.

"He served right up to the end of the Civil War. Often he had to work in advanced positions. An enemy's bullet might any moment have lodged in his person. He might have been killed, or maimed for ever. But Providence protected him. He came back home alive—sound in life and limb, without so much as a scratch. The fortunes of war are unfathomable, aren't they?"

IV

A hundred miles or so, as space is measured in this air-age, to the south of Uncle Jake's grave, there is a tomb. It is in the same state of the American Union—Illinois. It is in the capital of that state—Springfield by name.

It is a tomb—not a grave. Not only is it the last resting place upon earth of the bones buried there: but it is also a monument to the man who left behind those bones. Built of marble-white, carefully selected, painstakingly matched marble—it, by its size and fineness, is designed to recreate before the spectator's eyes a vision of greatness that not so very long ago was alive—dynamically, tirelessly, high-souledly active in man's service.

This memorial is to the man whose voice travelled, 83 years ago, from the capital of the United States of America to the small village in which Uncle Jake then lived and laboured. There was something in it that made "Doc" Kinsey pause in his pains and pleasures—something that drew him away from kin and crony. He resolutely left hearth and home to answer that call; and exchanged his "civies" for the army surgeon's uniform.

That call from the nation's seat of government was ringing—insistent. In it were the caller's heart throbs. In it was his great love for his people. In it was also his anguish.

The anguish was more than the echo of the agony of the men already bleeding upon the field of battle or groaning in the hospitals. It was anguish at the folly of the men who had started the fighting. Shots had been fired without parley by men perverse through fanaticism rather than criminality. They had ranged brother against brother—father was rending son. What folly could be more insensate—more criminal?

Before I tell of it I must say something of the man who sent out the call that drew Uncle Jake to the colours. And not only Uncle Jake. Hundreds of other doctors and thousands of attendants. Tens of thousands of others needed to fight down the madness let loose by the fanatics. Scores of women, too. For the first time in the history of the United States "home bodies" rushed to the military hospitals to "help (to) heal" the broken heroes.

V

That man's name was Abraham Lincoln. He was tall and gaunt of body. His face was rugged. The kindly soul within it made it attractive despite the irregularity of the features.

He was bred and born far away from the place in which his earthly remains repose. Some 400 miles, as the busy bee wings its way from the flower that yields her nectar to the hive, to the south-east of Springfield, his tiny, helpless lips first closed upon his mother's breast.

She lay upon a wretched pallet in a cabin dark as a dungeon and draughtier than a prison cell. It had been built at the edge of primeval woods by her husband.

He himself was spiritless and easy-going. There somehow was in his seed both ambition and striving. Or was the milk-stream from his mother's breast charged with these essentials to individual success and social service?

With hardly a start towards literacy and without means to buy books or even to purchase a lamp and wick and oil for it, to read

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by, this son of Nancy Hanks Lincoln—Abraham Lincoln—became one of the best informed men in his Motherland. He studied law, but its practice sickened him.

Sympathy for his fellows and speech instinct with that sympathy and in flow and rhythm comparable to the brook's naturalness, won him the suffrages of the citizens. They sent him to the legislature of Illinois, to which state he had drifted. A little later he was chosen to speak for that state in the national Congress at Washington, D.C. A new party that had scored no success worth chortling about put him up as candidate for the Presidency. His personality and eloquence reinforced by his striving in vindication of man's inalienable right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" carried him to the pinnacle of political glory.

On March 4, 1861, he was sworn in as the sixteenth President of the United States. In virtue of that office, he became the Commander-in-Chief of all the national armed forces on land as well as on water.

VI

Barely a month had Lincoln been installed in the White House when shots rang out in the vicinity. In the harbour at Charleston, South Carolina, stood Fort Sumter. Almost without warning it was attacked by the rebels. Without fight the garrison surrendered. The national flag—the "star-spangled banner"—was ignobly hauled down. The "stars and bars"—the rebel emblem—was run up instead.

Yes. It was a rebellion against the joint authority. The attack had come from within—not from without—the country. The aggressors were Americans—not hostile aliens.

The figure round which insurgents gathered—Robert E. Lee—was a general who had the prestige of distinguished leadership in the recent war with Mexico. Appointed commander-in-chief by the "Confederacy" formed by states that proclaimed their secession from the American Union with its headquarters at Washington, D.C., he began functioning in rebel interests almost under Lincoln's nose. The troops under him were seasoned soldiers. Behind them were reserves of men filled with fanatical zeal for the insurgent cause.

And that cause? As it was preached, it was armed protest against the alleged usurpation by the central government of rights considered to be inherent in the various state governments—against the unwarranted, unceasing, unbearable interference by the "North" with the affairs of the "South". These geographic expressions need explanation.

A line had originally been drawn purely for purposes of boundary delimitation. Known after the surveyors as "Mason and Dixon's Line", it formed the southern border of Pennsylvania. It was extended, from time to time, till it cleft the country in twain. The states to the north of it were known collectively as the "North:" those south of it constituted the "South". These words became embedded for ever in the United States terminology.

Slavery was the distinguishing symbol of this cleavage. It was more than a symbol. It was a storm—a tornado—or, to change the figure of speech, a Vesuvius in eruption.

In the "South" men, women and children of African or mixed Afro-American descent were still (1861) held in bondage. They were openly bought and sold. They slaved upon the plantations and in the homes. Conditions of their life and work were wholly regulated according to the will or whim of their owners. Be "Massa" (the master) ever so brutal, there was no salvation for the poor sufferers so long as breath remained in their bodies.

In the "North," slavery had been abolished. Numerous men and women there were filled with abhorrence of the system. Through individual and collective work they sought to free the "South" of this curse. Some of them afforded asylum to the run-away slaves and resisted effort to restore them to bondage. In so doing they ran grave risks—rendered themselves liable to heavy penalties.

VII

With Lincoln's election in November, 1860 and particularly after his investiture on March 4, 1861, excitement reached the climatic. Himself a son of the "South" by birth and breeding, he was a son of the "North" by inclination and choice. If any one could drive away the demon of disruption, drown the demand for "disunion"—silence the slogan-shouters of "secession,"—it was he. No one would put brain and brawn into the effort more blithely—more resolutely—than he.

He was not vouchsafed the opportunity peacefully to engage in that effort. The shots fired on Fort Sumter took away the opportunity for pacific action.

His attitude in respect of slavery he had made crystal clear. He would have no truck with it:

"A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure half slave and half free. I do not expect the house to fall, but I expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other."

So he had thundered from a public platfrom in Illinois when pitted in debate with Stephen A. Douglas. Though the echoes did not resound from any legislative chamber, they had

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in them potency that shook the entire nation. A little later he contested the right with this very debater to be in supreme command at that fateful hour in the nation's life, and was sent to the White House. Even before the outgoing President had yielded him the place of power, he had indicated, with clarity, that he intended slavery to be

". . . . put where the people would be satisfied that it was in course of ultimate settlement."

With such a man at the helm, human bondage, upon which the plutocrats of the "South" had built their prosperity, was in jeopardy. So they feared. Through dread they rushed matters. They would force him, they thought, to his knees before he could muster strength to resist them.

Was Lincoln the man to submit to armed rebellion—to confirm and consolidate the schism. If not, what was he to do?

Yet Lincoln must have realized that the United States had been caught wholly unprepared. Wherefrom was he to get the soldiers and the money to finance operations to stem the fratricidal blood-letting? What was to happen while he gathered volunteers under the national flag and they received training? Would not Lee, with his seasoned troops, capture and hold the national capital?

It is now abundantly clear that he never wobbled—never for an instant was he irresolute on the question of union. His mind was made up. He would not tolerate disruption—particularly disruption at the point of the gun.

The attitude of the people as displayed by the "firing on the flag at Charleston" must have heartened him in that resolution. As an eye-witness—the Poet of Democracy, Walt Whitman—wrote at the time:

"Down in the abysms of New world humanity there had formed and hardened a primal hard-pan of national Union will, determin'd and in the majority, refusing to be tamper'd with or argued against, confronting all emergencies, and capable at any time of bursting all surface bonds, and breaking out like an earthquake. It is, indeed, the best lesson of the century, or of America, and it is a mighty privilege to have been part of it."*

The promptitude with which Lincoln met this attack on nationhood will for ever remain a landmark in man's executive annals. So will the inflexibility with which he prosecuted the struggle, in pursuance of his resolve to stop the split from spreading—to end disunion—to keep all national elements together—cost what it may.

VIII

It was thought in the first days of excitement that the rebellion was only one State's (South Carolina's) madness. Whitman wrote:

". . . It was not thought it would be join'd in by Virginia, North Carolina, or Georgia. A great and cautious national official predicted that it would blow over 'in sixty days,' and folks generally believ'd the prediction. I remember talking about it on a Fulton ferry-boat with the Brooklyn mayor, who said he only 'hoped the Southern fire-eaters would commit some overt act of resistance, as they would then be at once so effectually squelch'd, we would never hear of secession again—but he was afraid they never would have the pluck to really do anything.' I remember, too, that a couple of companies of the thirteenth Brooklyn, who rendezvou'd at the city armoury, and started thence thirty days' men, were all provided with pieces of rope, conspicuously tied to their musket-barrels, with which to bring back each man a prisoner from the audacious South, to be led in a noose, on our men's early and triumphant return."†

Events were to prove disastrous. "The national forces," Whitman admits, "fled from the field." He adds:

". . . The defeated troops commenced pouring into Washington over the Long Bridge at daylight on Monday, 22nd (July, 1861)—day drizzling all through with rain. The Saturday and Sunday of the battle (of Bull Run) (20th and 21st), had been parch'd and hot to an extreme—the dust, the grime, and smoke, in layers sweated in, follow'd by other layers again sweated in, absorbed by those excited souls—their clothes all saturated with the clay-powder filling the air—stirr'd up everywhere on the dry roads and trodden fields by the regiments, swarming wagons, artillery, etc.—all the men with this coating of murk and sweat and rain, now recoiling back, pouring over the Long Bridge—a horrible march of twenty miles, returning o Washington baffled, humiliated, panic-struck. Where are the vaunts and the proud boasts with which you went forth? Where are your banners, and your bands of music, and your ropes to bring back your prisoners? Well, there isn't a band playing—and there isn't a flag but clings ashamed and lank to its staff."‡

Again he writes:

"There you are, shoulder-straps!—but where re your companies? Where are your men? Incompetents! never tell me of chances of battle, of getting stray'd, and the like. I think this is your work, this retreat, after all. Sneak, blow, put on airs there in Willard's sumptuous parlours and bar-rooms, or anywhere—no explanation shall save you. Bull Run is your work; had you been half or one-tenth worthy your men, this would never have happen'd."*

IX

What a vivid picture he paints of the men in authority in a *defeatest* attitude:

"Meantime in Washington, among the great persons and their entourage, a mixture of awful consternation, uncertainty, rage, shame, helplessness, and stupefying disappointment. The worst is not only imminent, but already here. In a few hours—perhaps before the next meal—the secesh (secessionist) generals, with their victorious hordes, will be upon us. The dream of humanity, the vaunted Union we thought so strong, so impregnable—lo! it seems already smashed like a china plate. One bitter, bitter hour—

* *Specimen Days In America*, by Walt Whitman (The World's Classics edition, No. 361. Oxford University Press), p. 24.

† *Ibid.*, p. 25.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

* *Ibid.*, p. 29.

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perhaps proud America will never again know such an hour. She must pack and fly—no time to spare. Those white palaces—the dome-crown'd capitol there on the hill, so stately over the trees—shall they be left—or destroyed first? For it was certain that the talk among certain magnates and officers and clerks and officials everywhere, for twenty-four hours in and around Washington after Bull Run, was loud and undisguised for yielding out and out, and substituting the southern rule, and Lincoln promptly abdicating and departing."†

Whitman left behind the opinion that:

". . . If the secesh officers and forces had immediately follow'd and by a bold Napoleonic movement had enter'd Washington the first day (or even the second), they could have had things their own way, and a powerful faction north to back them. One of our returning colonels expressed in public that night, amid a swarm of officers and gentlemen in a crowded room, the opinion that it was useless to fight, that the southerners had made their title clear, and that the best course for the national government to pursue was to desist from any further attempt at stopping them, and admit them again to the lead, on the best terms they were willing to grant. Not a voice was rais'ed against this judgment amid that large crowd of officers and gentlemen. The fact is, the hour was one of the three or four of those crises we had then and afterward, during the fluctuations of four years, when human eyes appear'd at least just likely to see the last breath of the Union as to see it continue."

Steadfastness to the cause of the Union required at that time an iron nerve. Lincoln staggered under the blow, but

". . . recovering himself, began that very night—sternly, rapidly sets about the task of reorganizing his forces, and placing himself in positions for future and surer work. If there were nothing else of Abraham Lincoln for history to stamp him with, it is enough to send him with his wreath to the memory for all future time, that he endured that hour, that day, bitterer than gall—indeed a crucifixion day—that it did not conquer him—that he unflinchingly stemm'd it, and resolved to lift himself and the Union out of it."‡

X

When Uncle Jake began his army surgeon's work, conditions were awful. The office buildings and residences turned into hospitals were already overcrowded. Tents set up to receive the overflow could not cope with the casualties coming in from the field in a steady stream. On the battle plain lay the wounded, groaning, sometimes for two days and more unattended.

Whitman tells of a soldier whom he "found among the crowded cots in the Patent Office." He had been "badly hit in his leg and side at Fredericksburgh" on 13th December.

". . . He lay the succeeding two days and nights helpless on the field, between the city and those rim terraces of batteries; his company and regiment had been compell'd to leave him to his fate. To make matters worse, it happen'd he lay with his head slightly down hill, and could not help himself. At the end of some fifty hours he was brought off, with other wounded, under a flag of truce."

† *Ibid.*, p. 29.
‡ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

Uncle Jake and his brother-surgeons had to do the best they could with these casualties. Considering everything, they did marvellously well.

What a tower of strength were the women who had left their hearths and homes for the military hospitals! No praise for these "female" war-nurses—the first of their kind in the United States—could be overgenerous.

XI

My mother-in-law had stowed away in the drawer in which she kept the possessions most cherished by her a pair of epaulettes. The gold was tarnished. Not, however, the memory of her brother-in-law.

With these epaulettes sewed to the shoulders of his army surgeon's tunic, Uncle Jake had come back home. The bloody business had been done with. The attack on the Union had been broken. The secessionists had submitted. The Union had been saved. The country had not been hacked into pieces. The broken hearts would, in time, become whole again.

That early autumn day 37 years ago when that good lady and I were staying with one of her daughters-in-law and she brought out these epaulettes for my inspection, the "North" and the "South" were only expressions descriptive of American physiography—not symbols of fratricidal fanaticism. The mud of the country over which the fight had raged showed no vestige of the Civil War's blood. The bitterness had very nearly gone out of men's and even women's hearts. The survivors—and their descendants—were pulling together to make the United States of America "one and indivisible"—the grandest land in the world—"God's own country."

All this and more had come to pass primarily because of the will and work of just one man—the man placed by the people's suffrages at the helm of the ship of state—who, in the hour of mortal combat, would not bend his knee to the demon of disunion—the satan of secession. That tomb in Springfield—also that grave in my wife's natal town—and many another resting place for bones that once were moved by muscles themselves impelled by overwrought nerves, are symbols of a struggle that should never, never have taken place.

I am proud of my wife's Uncle Jake—proud of his kindly, efficient ministration to the torn and tortured bodies of men mauled and maimed through the madness of their fellowmen run amok. He never bled upon the field of action. He did not receive even a scratch. He, nevertheless, was a hero—as true a hero he was as any general or private who, gored, suffered agonies. But for, such as he and his fellows did, in obedience to Lincoln's call, the United

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States of America might to-day be two, ten, or two hundred lands. Who knows ?

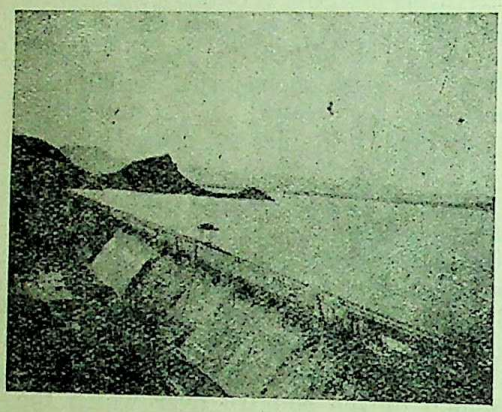
Once a split is permitted to begin, one never knows where the process will end. One only knows that wreckers find encouragement as it spreads. Their ranks swell. Their heads become turned. They are obsessed with madness to divide and to subdivide.

My wife's Uncle Jake was among the legions that, at Lincoln's call, put an end to that process of rending. The UNION was, in consequence, preserved. It went on gaining strength. What nation to-day is so diverse, in respect of its elements, as this and yet, nationally, so solid—and this in a world wildly torn by disruption ?

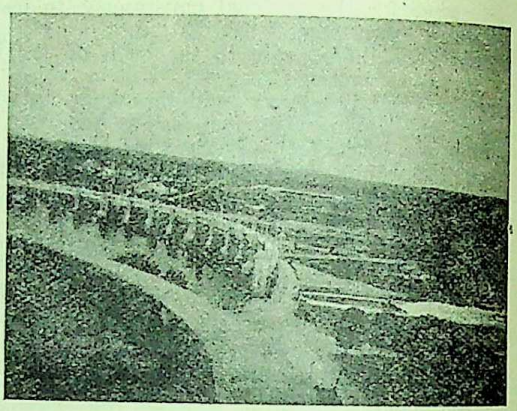
THE METTUR DAM

BY L. N. GUBIL

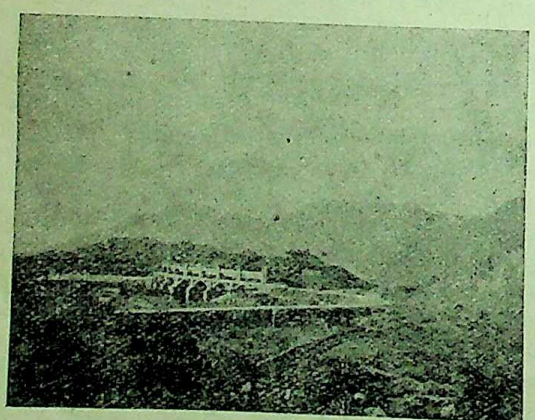
The Mettur Dam constructed across the river Cauvery in South India is one of the largest dams in the world. No wonder therefore that visitors to India do not fail to include this in their itinerary. The broad expanse of the waters locked up by the dam is indeed a feast to the eyes of any visitor; but the imposing concrete structure is a special attraction to the engineer.



The Mettur Dam

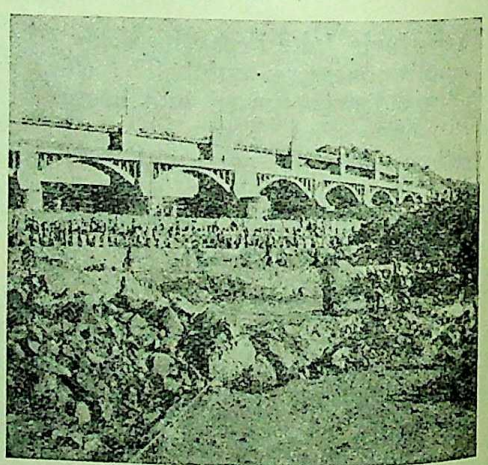


The road leading to the bridge at Mettur



A view of the Mettur Dam from the topmost hill

The dam carries a roadway (16 feet broad between parapets) nearly a mile long. The dam is erected to a height of a little over 200 feet and is in sections of 126 feet each, jointed to each other by copper plates, the object being to prevent the formation of cracks in the cement structure, and at the same time to keep the dam thoroughly water-tight whether in summer or in winter. The dam can be inspected from the entrances to the hollow interior at the bottom of the dam itself. Throughout this length, vertical shafts 15 feet from one another provide for the ejection of sewage water. Thus this inner vault serves the double purpose of an observation chamber and a drainage gallery.



A view of the escape of surplus waters at Mettur

The water impounded by the dam might on occasions be nearly a million lacs of cubic feet, and might be spread over an area of about

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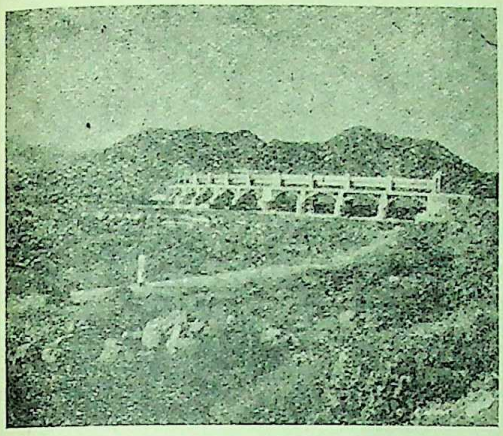
sixty square miles. It is, however, noteworthy that both in regard to the time taken for the construction of these huge works and the cost per unit of storage, the Mettur Dam has set up the lowest record—it costs on the whole five crores of rupees.



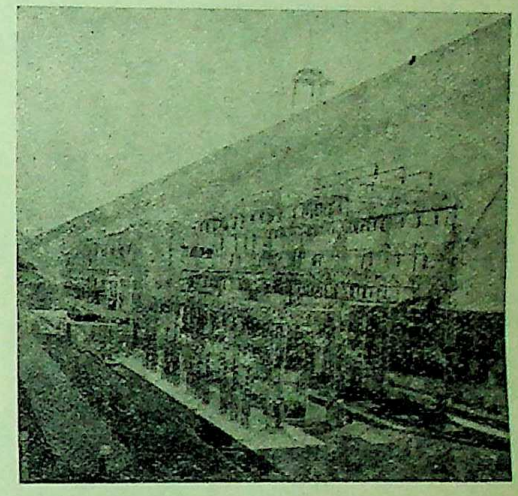
Another view of surplus escape

Before the construction of this dam, the irrigation of the Cauvery delta in the Trichinopoly and Tanjore districts was dependent on the capricious mercy of the north-east monsoon. But now the copious supply from the south-west monsoon has been harnessed not only to steady and regulate the supply throughout the irrigation period, but also to increase the area under cultivation in the delta. In fact, a new canal—the Grand Anicut canal—starts from the Grand Anicut (10 miles lower down Trichinopoly), which has brought under the plough no less than a quarter million acres of land previously uncultivated.

The periodical havoc by floods that used to occur in the Cauvery basin has now been reduced if not completely eliminated. Regulation of the flood waters at the Mettur Dam provides effectively for the diversion of the surplus waters.

The whole of South India has therefore reasons to be grateful to the initiators of the scheme from Colonel Ellis downwards, who initiated the outline of the scheme in 1910. Another advantage of equal importance has been obtained, and that is the utilisation of the energy of the pent-up waters through four turbines operating under a maximum head of 150 feet of water to generate electricity. The Mettur electric supply scheme is both complementary and supplementary to the bigger Pykara Hydro-Electric scheme.

One of the direct benefits of the dam has been the effect on the Mettur climate. The vicinity of a large lake formed in the natural gorge between some hills and the waist-line of the dam, has definitely taken the edge off the high summer temperature.



The Dam and the Power-house

MADAME TUSSAUD'S EXHIBITION

Story of Famous Waxworks Show

By ERIC LYNN

"Where Hitler and Stalin live together in peace," says a witty poster advertising that strange, world-famous museum of wax figures, Madame Tussaud's Exhibition. Madame Tussaud's has not lost its charm and the bomb which destroyed part of the large building during a raid has only stimulated public interest.

Scarcely any similar institution in the world can compete with Madame Tussaud's for the dramatic history of its origins. Its foundress was Marie Grosholtz. Born in 1760 in Switzerland, on the death of her parents she was adopted by her uncle, the doctor Christopher Curtius. Hearing of his gift for making wax models of his friends, the Prince de Conti invited him to come to Paris. There the Swiss doctor was so successful that modelling in wax became a fashionable craze, and his place was often visited by men like Voltaire, Diderot, Rousseau, Mirabeau, and later the American Ambassador, Benjamin Franklin.

His niece Marie proved an extremely gifted pupil and was soon even more proficient than her uncle. She was invited to Versailles as tutor to the king's sister, and here she modelled Marie Antoinette's face from life.

When the storm clouds of revolution were

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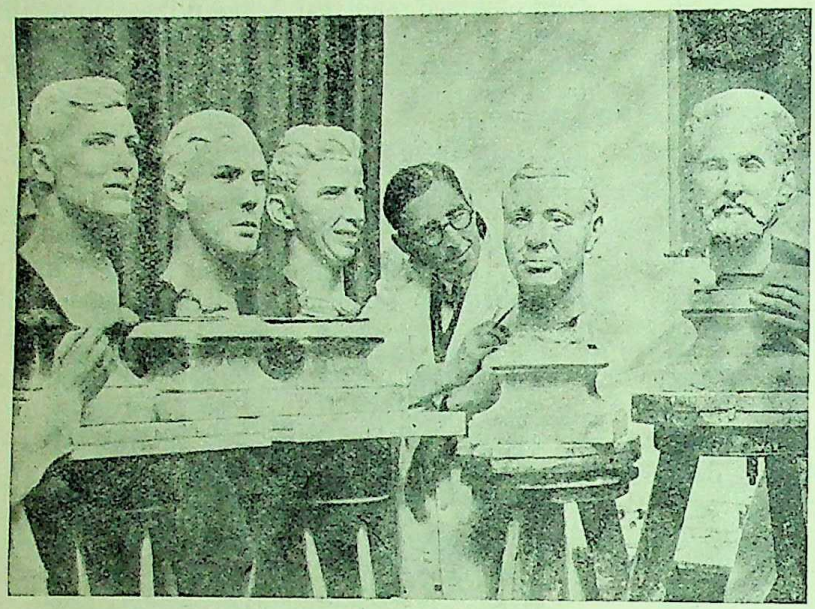
gathering, Curtius recalled his niece from the Court to the safety of his house. But on July 12, 1789, an angry crowd approached the studio, asking Curtius to make effigies of the people's heroes for a procession. Two days later the Bastille was stormed. Curtius was sent out of Paris, leaving the young Marie in charge of the studios and exhibition.



Madam Tussaud's Exhibition is now in the hands of Bernard Tussaud, great-great grandson of the foundress. Here he is seen at work on new heads

Heads began to fall fast. The Convention called for death masks to show the people of Paris. Marie was summoned, and more or less forced to fulfil a dreadful task ; one by one the mutilated heads of those whom she had known at Versailles and Paris pasesd through her hands—from Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette to the revolutionaries who eventually became the victims of their revolution, Marat and his murderess Charlotte Corday, Robespierre, Carrier . . . .

Marie herself did not escape the threat of death but was thrown into prison.

When she was freed at last she learned that her uncle had died mysteriously. She was alone in the world, her sole possession a large number of wax models. She married a French soldier, Francois Tussaud, but after some years they separated. In 1802 Marie took advantage of the Treaty of Amiens and sought refuge in England, taking her two children and all her models.

She came to London and opened an exhibition in the Strand, at the old Lyceum, and then toured the British Isles for 33 years. At last in 1835 the exhibition found a home in Baker Street, where it stayed until 1884, when it was moved to the present site in Marylebone Road.

Madame Tussaud, ceaselessly enlarging her collection, lived to the age of ninety. Almost every important personality of her time was her model as well as her visitor, and "Madame Tussaud's" became one of the sights of London.

In 1925, Madame Tussaud's exhibition experienced its first great tragedy. Fire broke out, and in an hour little was left but a heap of ruins. Fortunately the invaluable moulds of the wax portraits escaped, and curiously enough the "Chamber of Horrors" sustained the least damage. People used to say at the time, "The Devil looks after his own!"

Three years later, however, Madame Tussaud's reopened in a new building.

This photograph shows a portion of the historical section, with King Henry VIII and a few of his wives and courtiers

A thousand years of English and world history are represented in this exhibition, and

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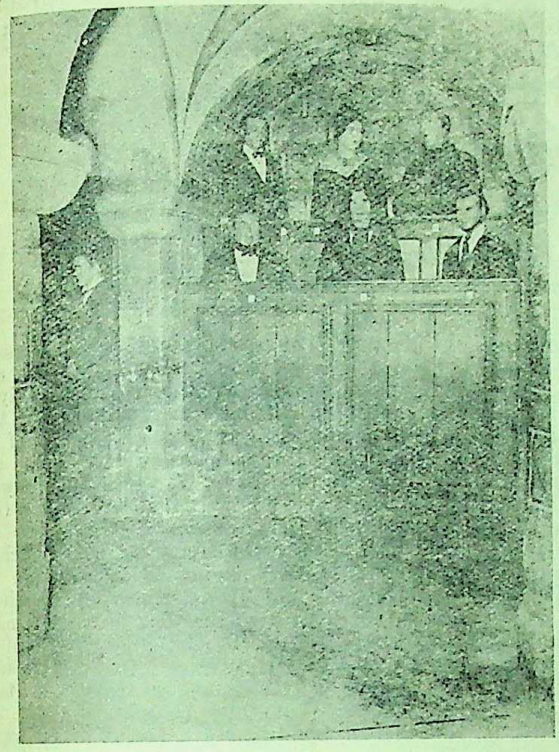
Marie Tussaud's rule of adding the portraits of eminent personalities as soon as they became "news" is still observed. The present manage-



In the basement of Madame Tussaud's Exhibition is the Chamber of Horrors, where are models of most of the notorious criminals of the world

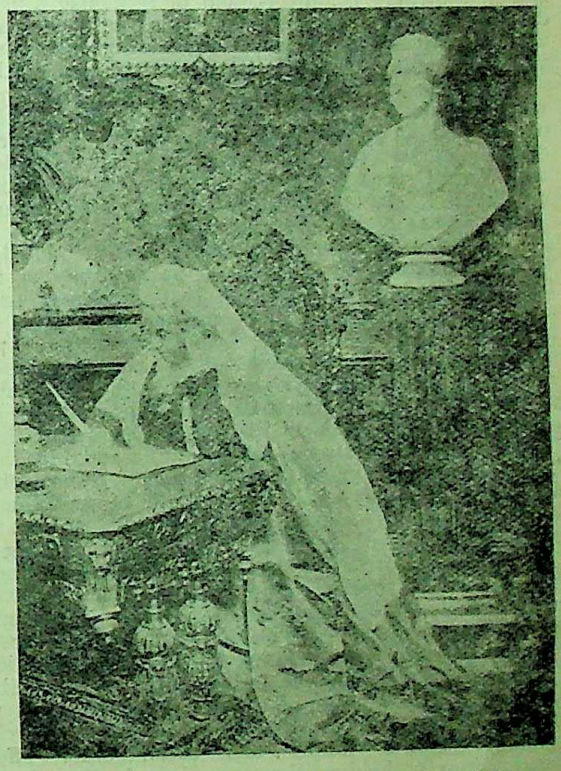
ment of Madame Tussaud's, however, must use some prophetical sense as to whether people who have come into the news are likely to stay there for some time. Wax models—the heads, are now being made by Bernard Tussaud, Marie's great-grandson—are very difficult and expensive to make, and there is only a limited space for the exhibition of contemporary personalities. For this reason, the management has to study political events, and carefully pick the people who are important enough to be exhibited.

All the British Cabinet Ministers are there. A recent portrait of Mr. Churchill was made at his country house, where he gladly sat as a model for the sculptor. Many Members of Parliament, the Opposition leaders, and other men of political importance find their wax effigies at the exhibition.

Difficulties over accuracy of detail arise when a foreign statesman has to be included in the collection. When, for instance, Hitler became Chancellor of the Reich in 1933, the management asked the German Embassy in London for information about the shade of his hair and the colour of his eyes; but the Embassy refused to make propaganda for their new chief by facilitating the modelling of his portrait! Thus the modellers had to guess, and when, later on, a leading Nazi official visited the exhibition, he protested vigorously at what had been made—mainly from photographs—of his beloved Fuhrer. Then he went back to Berlin, interviewed Hitler, and sent Madame Tussaud's the correct information.

Mussolini had to get a new head in 1939; apart from his increasing baldness he had taken to a new cap after his visit to Berlin. Stalin, unfortunately, had to be modelled entirely from photographs, but General Franco seemed to be pleased to become a member of the illustrious crowd at Madame Tussaud's: he sent the Duke of Alba to see to the details of his portrait. When King Carol of Rumania and President Kemal of Turkey were modelled, their respective ambassadors paid several visits to the exhibition, and saw that every detail of the uniforms and decorations was correct.

The most famous section of the exhibition is the "Chamber of Horrors". Its nucleus was Dr. Curtius' "Caverne des Grands Voleurs", on the Boulevard du Temple in Paris. Marie



Here, in an exactly reproduced setting of those days, is a model of Queen Victoria

Tussaud continued the tradition of adding the portrait of every renowned criminal to her collection, giving each a suitable background.

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Here we meet Jack the Ripper, Landru, the French Bluebeard; several hangmen and their instruments; the guillotine, with the original knife of 1789-93; the Iron Cage; the Electric Chair; and all the intricate instruments of ancient torture. And here, too, are the actual death masks, made by Marie Tussaud, of Louis XVI, Marie Antoinette, and Robespierre.

Some people say they scorn the painted and dressed "dolls". But the eternal "child" in almost every grown-up person still enjoys Madame Tussaud's dolls.

THE MALABAR MATRIARCHY

By Prof. KRISHNA PRASANNA MUKERJI, M.A., B.L., D.Phil. (Heidelberg)

Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan

II

B. As to the genesis of social amalgamation there are differences of opinion : some think that matriarchy was the first unifying social force, others hold that the patriarchal family was the first nucleus of social order, while there are still others according to whom matriarchy and patriarchy flourished in primitive communities side by side. Since the time of Bach-hofen a class of sociologists have "been tempted to see" in the matriarchal family system the original nucleus of human social order. "From promiscuity through matriarchy to patriarchy was the scheme proposed," and I am inclined to cling to this view in spite of all that is being said to refute it. It appears extremely probable that Matriarchy (including its two sides i. Matripotesta, *i.e.*. the rule and dominance of mother and ii. Matriliny *i.e.* the custom of reckoning kinship, descent, succession, and inheritance in the female line) was the earliest form of social organisation. The argument forwarded to refute this view is that anthropological researches show that in "all parts of the world we find maternal kinship side by side with institutions of paternal authority" and from this the hasty conclusion is drawn that "the family is always a bilateral unit though succession and inheritance are determined unilaterally." In other words, the argument is reduced to this : that because in many primitive societies we find traces of Patripotesta combined with Matriliny, therefore Matriarchy could not have been the first form of family order. Indeed that is exactly as it should be if we start with a matriarchal system of family building. The dangers and difficulties of promiscuity having been felt and realised by our ancestresses they founded in their cave-homes families which, of necessity, were matriarchal in form and spirit. This matriarchy in its earliest stages must have included both its features,—Matripotesta and Matriliny. With the growth in man of a sense of responsibility and inclination for settled life (both of which must have been slowly infused in his nature through his companionship with woman) the idea of sticking to one female or to one residence or settlement (founded by one female) began to find more and more favour with man but when he came to live in a family naturally he came with the authority of a lord (potesta) though the other rules relating to the family remained unchanged, which explains for the traces of matriliny in patripotestal families. Such traces, according to my views, far from refuting the theory of the matriarchal origin of human family and social order afford justification for holding the view that the first family and social order founded by our ancient but far-sighted ancestresses, in course of time, came under the sway of our naturally more aggressive ancestors when through centuries of female companionship they came to realise the futility of a nomadic life. Patripotesta, where it evolved, was of a later origin and did not therefore serve as a sure indication of the matriarchal origin of social order. Those who think that possession of authority in an organisation serves as a sure clue to its real founder overlook two things while applying that formula in this particular case, namely, i. that authority may be snatched away from the hands of the original founder by a more aggressive late-comer and ii. that the rivalry in this case (for the authority in the family) was not between two rival sovereigns (one of whom exists only to the exclusion of the other) but between members of two complementary sexes each of whom was, more or less, anxious to secure the co-operation and company of the other. In such a perspective it is not difficult to see that having founded and maintained the family (in the first stages of its growth) our ancient ancestresses (in most cases) yielded to a policy of transferring authority to their male mates as a price of their co-operation (in the constructive work of building up a social order whose significance was, if at all, understood very vaguely) which (transfer of authority) satisfied their masculine will to power and aggressiveness. It is indeed this happy blending of masculine vigour and dash and feminine submission and sacrifice that made the evolution of the family life possible.

This submission (of woman) was not a sign really of defeat but rather an index of woman's moral victory over man which lay in being able to harness the turbulent energy of man to the discipline of domestic life. It was the coronation of her king in the kingdom founded by woman's own hands and nurtured by her own sacrifice and effort. Such surrender may be unnatural as between two rival claimants to an earthly kingdom but here the kingdom was of the heart (of family) and the founder of this kingdom (woman) was anxious to replace rivalry by co-operation. This is the explanation of the presence of patripotesta in matrilineal societies (as also, I think, of the gradual transference of the duties of family-management in Nayar families from the eldest female to the eldest male).

Gradually with the evolution, in most cases, tending towards a full-fledged patriarchy, patriliny also came to be incorporated in the family system. This way of looking at the phenomenon of social origin enables us to explain why there are societies i. where patriarchy (*i.e.* patripotesta and patriliny) prevails, others ii. where patripotesta prevails with matriliny and still others, iii. where matriarchy (*i.e.* matripotesta and matriliny) prevails. In (i) all traces of maternal spadework have vanished, in (ii) traces of maternal origin of the family are visible but such traces are being obliterated gradually by the introduction of patripotesta, and in (iii) the maternal origin and authority are still prevalent and visible.

Till recently Malabar society (more strictly the Nayar society) has been a society of this last type,—one of the few in which traces of its earliest origins have been retained. This is readily admitted, but what

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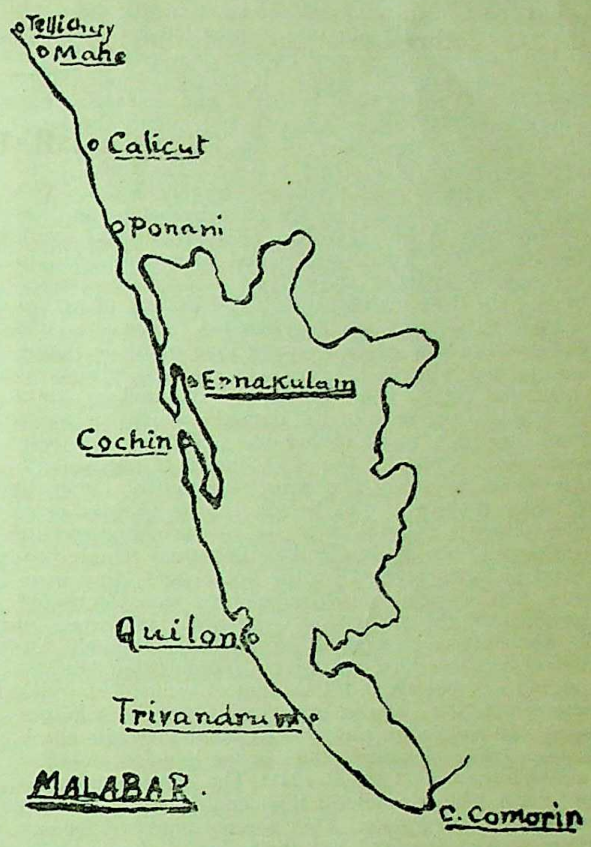
cannot be accepted is the hasty conclusion that because it has not thrown away its original traces of matriarchy and fallen in line with most others which have either accepted full-fledged patriarchy or at least patripotesta, it is a primitive society in which cultivation of higher pursuits and realisation of nobler ideals of life are not possible unless matriarchy is replaced by some sort of readymade or improvised patriarchy. Two false ideas are responsible for this erroneous impression, one absolutely imaginary and the other with a thin substratum of fact. Firstly, "tales are still told of villages (always outside the ken of the narrator) where only women dwell, whose population is maintained by the admission annually of one male who is put to death when his procreative task is done," so that under the influence of such ghastly informations the very idea of female authority appears to us to be as something horrible, undesirable and repulsive—a thing which can be tolerated only among primitive barbarians. This obviously belongs to the domain of fiction and no serious effort is needed to reveal its hollowness.

Secondly, the races which have still retained traces of matriarchy of any type (either matripotesta or matriliny or both) are mostly in a primitive state of civilisation. Such, for instance, are the old tribes of Australia, Sumatra, Micronesia, Melanesia and Formosa, the Garos and Khasis of Assam, the African tribes about Lake Nyasa, the Ila-speaking peoples of northern Rhodesia, the tribes of Ashanti and on the Gold and Ivory Coasts and the Iroquois of North America. When along with these primitive peoples are also mentioned the Nayars, as having the matriarchal (or matrilineal) family system it is presumed by the ill-informed (at least it is felt by the Nayars that it is being so presumed by the whole world) that the Nayars (and the Malabarians in general) *are also a primitive and backward people,* a presumption which the latter want to remove by rejecting the matriarchal system which is responsible for classing them among the backward primitives. But the question is : Have the Malabarians really been such a backward and primitive people as the other matriarchal tribes ? Let us peep into their history for a while.

Malabar is a district of British India (5792 sq. miles in area) in the Presidency of Madras with its headquarters at Calicut. Sometimes the entire western coast of peninsular India is vaguely described as Malabar, but strictly speaking, the area in which Malayalam is spoken should be called Malabar and "it would thus be coextensive with the old kingdom of Chera, including the modern states of Travancore, Cochin and part of Kanara." Calicut, Cannanore, Tellichery and Cochin are the important seaports through which considerable amount of coffee, coconut-products and pepper is exported. Indeed the sea-borne trade of Malabar (specially pepper) attracted (since the earliest times) to Malabar the Moor traders who, according to some authorities, are responsible for giving the region its present name, Malabar, (written in Arabic either as Al-Malibar or as Al-Manibar) meaning "passage or ferry" and "may have referred either to communication with Ceylon, or, as is more probable, to its being in that age the coast most frequented by travellers from Arabia and the Gulf."[13]. Barbosa in his descriptions *inter alia* remarks : "And after the Moors of Mecca discovered India, and began to navigate near it, which was six hundred and ten years ago ; they used to touch at this country of Malabar on account of the pepper which is found there."[14]. The Periplus (of the Erythraean Sea) mentions among local articles of commerce the pepper of Kottanara.[15]. Other writers have successfully shown that there was cultural and commercial contact between Malabar and other civilised peoples of the ancient world. like the Phoenecians and the Babylonians. Simcox finds the resemblances between Berber and Malabar usages so strong that it appears obvious to him that the



Phoenecians "when trading from the Persian Gulf to India, should have established a *commercial colony on the Malabar coast,* which has been *a thriving centre of Eastern and Western Trade. . . .*"[16]. Referring to the Malabar practice of dividing the day into 60 portions (Naligas) of 24 minutes and of dividing the Naligas into 60 Vinaligas of 24 seconds each and again subdividing these Vinaligas into 60 "long letter utterance-times equal to 2/5ths of a second each," the same author opines that the sexagesimal system of ancient Babylon is absolutely so unique that it must have been learnt by Malabarians from the Babylonians with whom therefore, they must have come in intimate contact.[17] Such intercourse with the civilised and progressive nations of the ancient world ould not have failed to heighten the standard of cultural and intellectual attainments of a people whose native land also was considered no less advanced and progressive in those days.

Fortunately for us some foreign travellers (who had also been clever writers and shrewd observers of social habits and customs) have left records of their observations which enable us to get a glimpse into the social life of the people of Malabar. A critical examination of the records left by travellers like the Portuguese Barbosa and the Venetian Marco Polo shows that far from being a backward primitive people the Malabarians (specially the Nayars) had, even in the early epochs of history, evolved a highly efficient social system and a civilisation of which courtesy, honour, chivalry, the promotion of higher virtues and the cultivation of arts were the conspicuous elements, and that in spite of the

13. Notes by Sir Henry Yule in his translation of the Book of Ser Marco Polo. Vol. II, Pp. 332 and 390.
14. Barbosa : *Ibid.* P. 102.
15. See, E. J. Simcox : *Primitive Civilisations.* Vol. I., P. 346.
16. *Ibid.* P. 345.
17. *Ibid.* P. 341.

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prevalence of matriarchy (or was it perhaps because of it ?). The following narrative culled from the records of Barbosa (referred above) I believe, will be of interest to students of social life and history:—

The king and the royal family (pp 105, 106, 111, 112) :—The kings do not marry (nor have a marriage law) but each one has a mistress who is a lady of "great lineage and family" which is called Nayre. These ladies are said to be very beautiful and graceful. The children born from these ladies do not inherit the kingdom ("nor any thing else of the king") ; they only inherit the property of their mother. The kings' heirs are their brothers and nephews (sisters' sons). The kings' sisters do not marry, nor have husbands, and are very free and at liberty to do what they like with themselves. The kings' sisters and nieces are held in great honour, guarded and served and they possess revenues for their maintenance. The coming of age of the kings' sister or niece is celebrated (when she is 13 or 14 years of age) when a young man of noble family is summoned, who on his arrival is received with great honour and entertained. He is then required to "tie a gold jewel to the neck of the damsel", which she wears all her life as a mark of her having performed these ceremonies. After this she is at liberty to choose with whomsoever to live. The princesses mostly prefer to live with Brahmans who belong to the priestly class. Then follows a description of the one thousand woman attendants of the king and their nocturnal temple procession of light escorted by the nobles and other menfolks. The courtesy and chivalry of the men, the beauty and grace of the women, and the neat tastefulness of the whole festival succeed to breathe through the interval of these long centuries a fragrance of delicacy, a perfume of poetry and a rhythm of refinement which must be rare even among people who have been known as the most refined in history. I cannot therefore check the temptation of quoting the passage in a foot-note.[18]

The Brahmans (pp. 121, 123): The gentle Brahmans are priests, who "do not eat flesh or fish" and are much respected by the people. They are not punished for any offence (under the law) but their chief, "who is like a bishop", chastises them in moderation. They marry only once. The eldest brothers only are married who keep their wives "well-guarded and in great esteem". Widows are not married. If the wife commits adultery he husband "kills her with poison." The younger brothers do not marry "nor can marry". They sleep with women belonging to the nobility who "hold it a great honour because they are Brahmans and no woman refuses them."

When it becomes known to him that the wife of a Brahman is in the family way he gives up all carnal relations with her and luxuries and remains so till the wife gives birth to her child. The Brahmans alone can be the king's cooks. They are also the king's messengers and they can pass from one part of the country to another unmolested even if the kings through whose territories they pass may be at war. The Brahmans are well-versed in many arts, well-read in law and possess many books and as such the kings honour them.

The Nairs (pp. 124, 126-31, 133): "In this kingdom of Malabar there is another sect of people called Nairs who are the gentry, and have no other duty than to carry on war and they continually carry their arms with them which are swords, bows, arrows, bucklers and lances." They are of good lineage, smart and very proud of their nobility. They do not associate with peasants and do not eat or drink in any house save that of the Nairs. They are not married and they are inherited by their sisters' sons. The Nair women are "all accustomed to do with themselves what they please with Brahmans and Nairs but not with other people of lower class under pain of death."

When a Nair girl attains majority (puberty) respectable young men are sought for by the girl's mother. Beautiful girls get several such suitors, each one of whom "has his appointed day from mid-day till next day at the same hour" and "so she passes her life without any one thinking ill of it." Both the parties (the girl and any one of the suitors) are at liberty to cut off connection when he or she likes. The children of the unions remain with the mother and are brought up by the mother's brothers. Even if any man knows that a child is his, he is not recognised as such by him or by the society, for "it is said that the king made this law in order that the Nairs should not be covetous and should not abandon the king's service."

The Nair boy is sent to school at the age of seven where he first learns "feats of agility and dancing" which make his limbs supple from childhood. Then he learns gymnastic and then the use of weapons. A group of very skilful men, known as Panicars (captains) teach them these arts. When the Nairs enter into the service of a king they promise to die for him. When the Nairs go to war they are paid 4 Tavas per head per day as long as the war lasts and during the war they may touch peasants and eat and drink with them. The king is obliged to maintain the mothers and other family members of Nairs who may die in war. Wounded Nairs get free treatment at the king's cost until they are cured.

The Nairs live outside the towns separate from the people, "on their own estates which are fenced in." It is a sort of self-sufficient citadel. They do not drink and command princely respect from the people. Even a poor Nair will expect from the richest peasant the respect due to a king. They have great privileges in this matter, and the Nair women even greater with peasants. "If a peasant were by misfortune to touch a Nair lady, her relations would immediately kill her and likewise the man that touched her and all his relations." *This is done to avoid "all opportunities of mixing their blood with that of the peasants."* There is another restriction on the freedom of Nair women, namely, "no Nair woman ever enters the towns under pain of death[19] except once a year . . . . On this night more than twenty thousand Nair women enter Calicut (accompanied by their male relations) to see the town, which is full of lamps in all the streets which the inhabitants set there to do honour to the Nairs, and all

18. "The king has a thousand waiting women, to whom he gives regular pay, and they are always at the court, to sweep the palaces and houses of the king : and this he does for state, because fifty would be enough to sweep. These women are of good family . . . And these women give a great feast to the king when he newly comes to the throne, after he has finished his year of mourning and abstinence . . . These thousand women have each got a brass dish full of lighted wicks, and between the chandeliers are many flowers. And at nightfall they set out from the temple with their idol for the king's palace, where they have to place it; and all come in procession before the idol which is set upon the elephant, in bands of light, with the beforementioned salvers, and many men accompany them with oil, with which they replenish the lamps. And the nobles, their admirers, go along with them, talking to them with much courtesy; and they remove the perspiration from the ladies' faces and from time to time put into their mouths the betel, which both men and women are constantly eating ; and they fan them with fans, because their hands are fully occupied with the salvers. And all the instruments are sounding, and there is a great firing of rockets, and they carry some burning shrubs, so that it is a very pretty sight."

Barbosa : *Ibid*. Pp. 111, 112 and 113.

19. This shows that the Nairs guarded very jealously not only their aristocracy but also their matriarchy, for, the only possible explanation for not allowing Nair women to go to towns and visit their mates' homes and relations is the apprehension that they may, in moments of emotional weakness, feel inclined to linger on and permanently with members of their mates' families and thus bring about the ruin of Nair matriarchy.

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the streets are hung with clothes." On this occasion the Nair women come to see the houses of their mates where they are received amidst entertainments with great affection and courtesy and are invited to chew betel and "it is held to be a great politeness to receive it from friends."

Much respect is shown by Nairs to their mothers and elder sisters who are treated like mothers. Nair women do not mix with any one during three days every month when a woman has to prepare her own food in "separate pots and pans." After three days of their confinement they are washed in hot water and afterwards they bathe many times each day from head to foot. "They are very clean and well-dressed women, and they hold it in great honour to know how to please men."

Fashion of justice (*pp. 116, 118, 120*): In Calicut there is a person appointed by the king, known as the Talaxe who administers justice in the city and submits a report to the king. Justice is administered according to the qualities of the persons because "there are diverse sects and laws amongst them." The nobles enjoy exemption and privilege and they "cannot be taken and put in iron" for any offence. But if it is established on the admission of the guilty noble himself that he has killed any one or a cow or committed adultery with a low caste or a Brahman woman or spoken ill of the king, then the king calls four respectable men in whom he has confidence and empowers them by a written warrant to kill the guilty noble wherever he is found without fear of punishment. There is another judicial officer in Calicut who, with the aid of his subordinates in villages, administers justice in the country districts, in all matters excepting where capital punishment is awarded. No woman in Malabar dies by sentence of law. If however, a Nair woman who has committed adultery falls in to the hands of the king's officers (before being killed by her relations) the king commands her to be taken and sold out of the kingdom to Moors or Christians (a crude form of royal mercy). Commenting on the state of security which prevailed in Calicut, Abdur Razzak in his "Matla 'u-s Sa'dain" mentioned that such security and justice reigned in that city that rich merchants brought to it from maritime countries large cargoes of merchandise, which they deposited in the streets and market places, and left them with no further guards than the customs officers, who took a 2½ per cent duty if anything was sold, otherwise offered no kind of interference.[20]

Administration:—Nor was the country ruled according to the whims of an absolute despot. Competent authorities mention of the "working of the quasi-parliamentary or constitutional checks upon the arbitrary power of the Rajahs." Mention is also made of General Assemblies which were summoned by the Rajah and in which propositions were discussed and measures were "rejected or adopted by unanimous silence or clamour". The predominating position of the Nairs was discernible also in the administrative system of the country. "These Nayars being heads of the Calicut people, resemble the parliament and do not obey the king's dictates in all things, but chastise his ministers when they do unwarrantable acts."[21]

What has been stated above is, I believe, enough to show that in the hey-day of her matriarchy Malabar has not only not been a backward country inhabited by a primitive people but (making allowances for the peculiarities of olden times) by a people whose ocial progress and cultural attainments were of an order which made learned authorities acknowledge their parity with such progressive peoples (of the old world) as the Spartans, the Lycians and the Egyptians. If today the Nairs have lost their virtues of courage, honour and leadership and have become effeminate and superstitious (as some authorities think) the reason for this general degradation of Nair character has to be sought for elsewhere than in their matriarchal system.

(To be continued)

20 *Vide* H. Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. IV. Pp. 98-99. Abdur Razzak was sent by Sultan Shah Rukh as his ambassador to the Bijanagar Court (1442).

21. Simcox : *Supra* P. 548.

DUMBARTON OAKS CONFERENCE AND POST-WAR SECURITY

By S. M. BOSE, M.A., LL.B. (Cantab.), Barrister-at-Law

The end of the beginning of Great War II has naturally turned the thoughts of men to the vital question as to what should be the outcome and the best way to secure the ideals laid down in the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms. Talks of a world federation, of a union or closer union between the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and China filled the air. Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill, representing the U.S.A. and the United Kingdom respectively, in the famous Atlantic Charter, have laid down certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they based their hopes for a better future for the world. They declared that "they accept the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live, and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them". In Clause VI they declared that "after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries and which will afford assurance that all men in all lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want". In Clause VIII they declared their belief that all the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force.

In pursuit of the principles so laid down which embody the deep ideals of all the democratic peoples of the world, millions have fought and laid down their lives in the hope that their supreme sacrifices will not end in vain. Some way must be found to carry out these ideals.

Various plans have been suggested, for the idea of the League of Nations preventing war has now been shattered. The Covenant of the League has completely broken down in practice, and the whole machinery of the League for the preservation of peace has collapsed. The reasons for this are obvious. The League was founded upon a complete acceptance of the principle of National Sovereignties; the Sovereign Governments were independent of each other but were bound by solemn covenant to take measures to restrain threatened war and to redress grievances which might lead to war. The inherent defect was that the League could not reach any binding decision unless unanimously arrived at by all its members. Further, the increasing strain imposed by the ever-growing complexity of life on the time and energy of National Governments was another important reason for the failure of the League. In all these Governments, the same body of men have to attend to national as well as to international questions. The League was, in fact, a conscious attempt to model a world society on the principle which seemed to yield

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such admirable results in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Another idea in the minds of British statesmen was that the British Commonwealth which was the bastion of the world defence to-day might well become the basis of greater world unity to-morrow. The burden of Commonwealth defence rested entirely on the United Kingdom. The Dominions, though they claimed nd got equality of status with the United Kingdom in virtue of the Balfour Declaration were content to remain under the shelter of United Kingdom in matters of defence measures, for obvious reasons. But the official and universally accepted doctrine that the Balfour Declaration and the Statute of Westminster have, in fact, as well as in law, given Dominion Governments, Legislatures and Electorates, control of the issues of peace and war was a dangerous illusion. The Dominions were primarily concerned with their own domestic affairs, leaving matters of defence mainly to the United Kingdom. The task of maintaining peace, not merely for its own people but for those of all the Dominions continued to rest on the Government of the United Kingdom. The burden was too great and the Commonwealth was unable to prevent the two Great World Wars.

The burden of prevention of war depended on British statesmen, and it was felt in 1941 that European Reconstruction will be Great Britain's task. The fallacy lay in the assumption that problems of European Reconstruction are confined to Europe.

The fundamental idea among all Commonwealth politicians was, as stated above, that Great Britain and a fragment of Ireland were to sustain the cost of armaments, both sea and air, to give that sense of security which she was able to give to the three communities from Waterloo to the close of the 19th century. The desire to find a way by which men and nations can live together in peace was becoming more and more insistent, and it was felt that the doctrine that war must be for ever a part of man's destiny was unacceptable. After the League had fallen in ruins, it was thought that the voluntary co-operation among the members of the Commonwealth might prevent further war; but this co-operation of free and equal nations did not prevent war from breaking out in 1914 and in 1939. 'Co-operation' therefore was not enough. 'Collective security' was not enough. That the idea of preservation of peace based on voluntary co-operation among equals was a delusion and a snare, was proved by the outbreak of two Great World Wars. Such outbreak showed that it was essential to have an element of compulsion to force the states to keep the peace. Politicians talked of co-operation and influence ; but as Washington said "Influence Is Not Government". International difficulties cannot be solved by voluntary co-operation only; in the background, there must be an element of force to be used in the last resort by a Central Government of the United Nations.

Lord Lothian, in his famous Burge Memorial Lecture in 1935, said:—

"There is only one way of ending wars and of establishing peace and that is, by introducing into the international sphere the principle of the State, that is, by creating a federation of nations with a Government which can wield the taxing, executive, legislative and judicial powers, and command the allegiance of the individual in super-national sphere". The theme of Lord Lothian's lecture was—"Pacifism is not enough, nor Patriotism either."

So the only feasible plan for carrying out the idea what was acceptable by all the democracies of the world is that outlined by Lord Lothian and Lionel Curtis. As Lord Lothian says, the real cause of our troubles is that nations are living in a state of anarchy towards each other. The covenant of the League of Nations disguises but does not (anarchy) because it leaves intact the root of anarchy—National Sovereignty. National Sovereignty has been the hidden hand which wrecked the League ideas; for it implies that every nation sets its own interest first. Thus the National Government limits the supreme devotion of its members to itself. As Curtis points out, this defect can not be finally cured until the whole human society have been organised in one International Commonwealth. There must be a transition from *National* Sovereignty to an *International* Sovereignty based upon the choice of the members of the National Governments and charged with special rights and duties.

Certain "Federal Union" proposals of Streit, Dr. Jennings, Mr. Mackay and Sir William Beveridge have advocated union on all points, but as Curtis points out this is not practicable and the scheme he advocates is one for union of the Democratic States limited to the problems of defence and security. These eminent thinkers believe that the day of national states is over and so there should be an international union of all the states on all matters. But, as Curtis points out, national states must continue to discharge permanent and necessary functions in human affairs. It is impossible to think of a human society, in which all the racial elements have been mixed up into one mass, following one common way of life. The supreme unity which human society should attain is one in which its component nations are highly differentiated in composition as well as in structure. But a chief impediment is the insecurity caused by the state of anarchy between the various nations; for human society is now fragmented into about 60 sovereign states, and between these 60 sovereignties, a state of anarchy exists, resulting in world wars. Further, an important point against such wholesale union as advocated by Streit and others is that no such International Government could ave either the detailed knowledge or time to control conditions determining national compositions and structures. On the other hand, the cabinet of each nation at present is dangerously over-burdened by having to deal with questions of security (including foreign policy) nd also domestic questions. So Curtis advocates a *via media*. State Governments are to be kept, but the functions at present discharged by them must be divided into two parts. Control of social affairs in their widest aspect should be left to National Governments. An International Government formed by them must confine itself to questions of security and all matters which are inseparable therefrom. This International Government should have power to make security a first charge on all the resources of the component nations. So Curtis advocates that the independent democratic countries should unite with Great Britain for purposes of security and defence. They should form an International Government with the above duties. There should be a joint foreign policy, a joint defence policy and a common budget for defence purposes, contributed by the component states in such proportions as may be determined. There should also be a joint legislative body to decide on defence questions only, which would discuss the foreign situation, the danger of war, the necessary measures of defence and the proportion of individual state revenues to be devoted to joint defence. There should also be a joint executive body for defence questions only responsible for framing the common budget for defence purposes to be laid before the legislative body. These joint legislative and executive bodies of the International Union should be given by their National States sufficient authority to make defence and security a first charge on the individual state's revenue, the National Governments distributing their respective burden amongst individual tax-payers. This International Legislative Body is to be elected from time to time in all the states thus united. It is suggested that this International Union might include the members of the Commonwealth of Nations and also European Democracies like Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark and Norway. Representation in this Inter-

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national Legislative Body might be based on taxable capacity, the smaller nations being granted certain weightage in voting power.

Under the scheme thus outlined all domestic questions including the incidence of taxation would rest with each National Legislature, the Union Legislature is only to decide what total sum is to be spent in order to ensure the union as a whole against dangers of future wars, and thus to give to the constituent nations that sense of security without which they can not manage their domestic affairs in security. Each nation might elect their members to the Union Legislature by some system of proportional representation.

In recent times, the approaching end of this war has drawn particular attention of all thinkers to the vital problem of post-war security and there has been a conference at Dumbarton Oaks in which representatives of Great Britain, the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and China attended, and a certain tentative scheme which may be called the Dumbarton Oaks Plan (or briefly, the Plan) has been formulated. Roughly, there is to be a Security Council of a new League called 'United Nations', of eleven members consisting of the above four states and later on France and six other states elected for two-year periods. This Council will have full powers to put down aggression by every means, including air, naval and land actions, without reference to the views of the "United Nations" (the new League). Certain measures are suggested as to how the disputes are to be settled. Then there is to be a General Assembly consisting of all the members of the League. It is to have their right to consider general principles of co-operation in keeping the peace including those governing disarmaments and the regulation of armaments. The General Assembly is to elect non-permanent members of the Security Council. Members of this General Assembly will take the action recommended to them by the Security Council for carrying out certain non-violent methods for settling quarrels amongst nations, *e.g.*, diplomatic and economic pressure and severance of diplomatic and economic relations. Then there should be a third body set up—an International Court of Justice to which the Security Council might refer justiciable disputes amongst states. Finally, there is to be a fourth body—the Secretaries of the "United Nations" run by a Secretary-General, the Chief Administrative Officer, who has the right to bring to the notice of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten international peace.

Such are the rough outlines of the Dumbarton Oaks Plan, the details of which have not yet been settled. On the questions left open Great Britain, the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and China will prepare complete proposals which will serve as a basis of discussion at the full United Nations' Conference.

It will be noticed that the Plan conspicuously diverges from the covenant of the League of Nations, and that there is a resolute attempt, as the *Time* says, to isolate security from other aspects of international co-operation and to provide a more realistic machinery for dealing with it. In this respect, the Plan agrees with Curtis's scheme. The most obvious improvement is in the proposals enforcing the will of the United Nations by collective action against the aggressors. The Plan, as the *Manchester Guardian* points out, is not a very ambitious one : it is not a super state but an instrument of co-operation between nations more limited, more practical, but less aspiring than the League.

It will thus be seen that the Plan is a practical one agreeing with Curtis's proposals that there should be an International Government charged exclusively with questions of security and defence. The Plan is not an ambitious one or one embracing a total union of all the functions of Government as proposed by Streit and others.

Certain suggestions are put forward regarding the Plan.

(1) From the newspaper reports it appears that Britain is to be one of the permanent members of the Security Council. It is not clear if this means only Great Britain or as it ought to mean, the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. This must be insisted upon because the Dominions including India must have a seat along with Great Britain in his Council.

(2) Perhaps it might be better to start on a small scale—Union at first comprising of all the members of the Commonwealth of Nations including India, the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., China and the smaller democratic states in Europe like Holland, Belgium and Norway. The list of members of the new League might be revised after every 5 or 10 years.

(3) It is essential that at the outset none of the members of the axis including Bulgaria, Finland and other states which have actively helped the axis powers should be included in the new League. This might be revised by the members of the General Assembly every 10 years. This is very necessary as the axis powers and their satellites are imbued with anti-democratic Hitlerian principles and, it is apprehended, it will take very many years before this autocratic state of mind is radically eradicated from their minds.

(4) An objection may be raised to the Plan on the ground that it is very much an affair of the big powers. This in its very nature, must be so ; because the main burden of ensuring peace of the whole world must inevitably fall on them. Further, the big powers represented in the Security Council are all thoroughly imbued with the principles of Democracy ; and under the stress of the present war they have been moulded into a common form and their idiosyncrasies and angularities rounded off. So the further point as to how a charge of aggression against a permanent member of the Security Council is to be dealt with will, it is apprehended, hardly arise ; because each of these big states, who have fought together and have come to close contact with each other, are very unlikely to act in an oppressive manner. It can not be that the British Commonwealth of Nations, made up of so many peace-loving and thoroughly democratic states, should ever cast covetous eyes on any other states. Similarly, one can not realise Russia's or China's doing the same.

(5) So it would appear that the principle of the Security Council is really Lothian's and Curtis's idea of an International Government over the various component nations, charged with the duties of security and defence. The real question that does not appear to have been decided at the Conference is how is the financial burden taken up by the Security Council, to be discharged. We are to frame the budget and who will enforce payment. The logical thing would be as advocated above by Curtis, *i.e.*, the Security Council should have the power to frame the budget for security and defence purposes and to be entitled to get money from the component states.

(6) As to how the members representing each of the components of the Security Council are to be chosen does not seem to be clear. The suggestion of Curtis is that there should be general elections to be held from time to time in all the component states. There are many reasons why the Dominions should be given a more generous representation than they would have on a strict basis of population.

(7) It may be remarked that the Security Council, as in Plan, combines the Executive Body and the Legislative Body proposed by Curtis.

(8) The weak point in the Plan as reported, is that the members of the General Assembly are to undertake to make available to the Security Council, on requisition and according to the special agreements among themselves, armed forces and facilities and help necessary to keep the peace. So these armed forces will be under their own National Governments and so under

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their control. This will not be conducive to harmony principle and the organisation is based on the principle of equality of all peace-loving States. But just as all men are by nature unequal, so are the States. It would be a mistake to confuse *status* with *stature*. Equality of status is necessary, as among the Dominions under the Statute of Westminster; but equality of stature is very different. Is it expected that the U.S.S.R. will have the same weight as States like Panama or Peru? No constitution can possibly prevent the overwhelming influence of the Big Four.

or to speedy action, as there will be divided control. Further, this will mean that each of the component states will have to keep in full their armed forces and so bear the heavy cost of armaments. The better scheme will, as suggested by Curtis, be that the component states should contribute their quota for the defence budget prepared by the International Government; and that Government should directly control the armed forces that may be necessary in the opinion of that Government. This scheme will make it unnecessary for the National Governments to keep any armed forces beyond those essential for internal security; further, the absence of a large armed national force will certainly mean less chance of clash with rival forces of other nations. The fact that the national states will be relieved of keeping armed forces would be likely to lead to the spread of spcific ideas amongst each nation. After all, what is wanted is the spread amongst the peoples of the world of ideas of peace and love. The adoption of Curtis's scheme will mean that each of the United Nations will be, to a large extent, relieved from the heavy and expensive task of maintaining armed forces. Thus will be fulfilled the object underlying the Clause VIII of the Atlantic Charter that there should be general disarmament and peace-loving peoples will be relieved from the crushing burden of armaments.

(9) Finally, it is to be noted that the General Assembly of the United Nations is to act on the

Any way, the Dumbarton Oaks Conference is a striking attempt to carry out the ideas of a world state empowered to prevent future wars. It is a noble attempt to make the world safe for the peace-loving peoples of the world so that they may be assured of living out their lives in freedom from fear and want.

India must be represented as permanent member of the Security Council. By her services to the cause of freedom during the last and the present Great Wars, by her enormous resources and potential wealth, by her civilisation, and by her moral and spiritual outlook on life, India is eminently fitted to serve the cause of humanity.

The object of this article is to call upon the people of India whole-heartedly to take up the idea embodied in the Dumbarton Oaks Plan; for they must force the hands of national politicians who, in blinkers, only see what is supposed to be the good of the country, who cannot rise above narrow provincial outlook, and would decry the idea of a Federation of States.

BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

LITERATURE AND AUTHORSHIP IN INDIA: *By K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, M.A., D.Litt., Professor of English, Lingaraj College, Belgaum, University of Bombay. With an Introduction by E. H. Foster, George Allen and Unwin, 1943. Pp. 46.*

The book under review is a short critical survey of the intellectual and literary life of the Indian people since 1800. The learned author has given us a fine analysis of all those forces and factors which have contributed to the growth and development of modern Indian literature. The disseration will be of particular use and interest to foreign readers who will find in it an admirable introduction to the study of modern Indian vernaculars.

Dr. Iyengar's account of the Bengali Renaissance and his estimate of the Western influence on Indian literatures are exceedingly suggestive. His observations on English education in our country show a breadth of outlook and commendable critical acumen. While he has pointed out the evil effects of "Macaulayan education", he has at the same time recognised the value of its immense contribution to "Indian political and cultural renaissance". The book is at once informative and suggestive.

INDO-ANGLIAN LITERATURE: *By K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar. Published for the P. E. N. All-India centre. Aryasangha, Malabar Hill, Bombay; The International Book House, Ltd., Ash Lane, Fort, Bombay, 1943. Pp. 70. Price Re. 1/8.*

The book contains a critical estimate of the Indian writers of English verse and prose. The author takes into consideration the nature of the education which fostered the growth of Indo-Anglian literature and has brought to bear upon his study materials that are not much handled today. His observations on the works of Toru Dutt, Manmohan Ghosh, Aurobindo Ghosh, Sarojini Naidu and Rabindranath Tagore speak of a fine discriminating taste and sound literary judgment. The bibliography has been prepared with care and will be of great use to the students of this rather fascinating subject.

H. C. Mookerjee

SOVIET RUSSIA: *By K. Gibberd. Published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London. 1942. Pages 75. Price 1 shilling net.*

SOVIET STUDIES: *By Ela Sen and Alex M. Reid. Thacker Spink & Co. Ltd., Calcutta, 1943. Pages 88. Price Rs. 2-8.*

SOVIET ASIA: *By Violet Conolly. Oxford Pamphlet on World Affairs No. 62. London, 1943. Pages 32. Price 4 d. net.*

This handbook, published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs shortly after Russia was drawn into the present war on the side of Allies, offers a very concise, illuminating and, at the same time, critical estimate of the conditions existing in the Soviet Union after 25 years of the Communist regime. This book was primarily intended for men and women of the Armed Forces in Britain who wanted to know something of the conditions of a country that had remained, in spite of large-scale propaganda abroad, a closed book to most foreign observers and that had by the force of circumstances become a powerful ally. The author's presentation of

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facts and figures regarding the various aspects of contemporary Soviet life and culture is objective, free from any ideological bias either in favour or against the political philosophy or social organization of the Soviet State. Mr. Gibberd has not indulged in any facile generalization or drawn upon any political predilection in presenting the achievements of the Soviet regime or in pointing out the defects and paradoxes that are perhaps inseparable from such a vast experiment in social revolution which the Communists had undertaken in Russia. A typical observation of the author is about the Russian Communist whom he describes as follows: "Well-trained in Communist doctrines, his mind packed with statistics, blandly ignorant and rather contemptuous of conditions in other countries, the Party man or woman is ready at any hour of the day or night to instruct compatriot or foreigner alike. He is never nonplussed and rarely ruffled. His convictions are like granite, his outlook materialistic. Religion he despises, psychology he does not understand, except in so far as he has learned some technique in propaganda; his whole being is merged in the creation of a new social order. It is not difficult for the easy-going citizen from another kind of society to see his limitations. On the other hand, it is he who has made the new Russia, and it is because of his limitations that he has succeeded. He is the product of a revolution which felt the world to be in arms against it. A more peaceable world and a prosperous and secure Russia might have produced a new kind of Communist." (Page 39). The author has thrown interesting sidelight on certain aspects of life in the Soviet Union today which generally seem lost in the swelling tide of new literature on Russia inspired by Russian victories on the battlefield. His observations on the family life and marriage, on religious worship and observances, on the material conditions of the peasant, on the education of children and status of women and similar topics are shrewd and critical instead of enthusiastic or platitudinous. Mr. Gibberd's comment on the pattern of Soviet culture which is being forged through regimented and standardized channels leading towards a dull uniformity and which, he fears, may ultimately stultify the rich diversity of the traditional cultures of each national group within the U.S.S.R. deserves to be carefully studied by all those who are interested in the future trends of Soviet culture. The author concludes with a note of warning: "Although there are no aristocratic or wealthy classes in Russia there is a concentration of power and privilege of the Communist Party, and this seems likely to produce a tendency to conform to Moscow appearances and Moscow culture, similar to the desire shown by all provincial and colonial people to imitate the metropolis. This, however, is hazarding a speculation for the future, and since the future is always liable to produce unforeseen factors that upset previous calculations, it can have no more validity than all other conjectures that people are constantly tempted to make about the next stage in the progress of modern Russia."

Mr. and Mrs. Reid have produced a readable book on Soviet Russia. Mr. Reid has travelled widely in the Soviet Union just before the war broke out in Europe and had an opportunity to study the mood and manners of the Soviet people on the eve of a great trial they had to undergo both in the national as well as international spheres. Mrs. Reid has made an intimate study of Russia, and is an ardent exponent of leftist thinking in this country. The pen pictures of Soviet life in the great cities as well as in the villages that have been so neatly and warmly drawn by Mr. Reid in his travelling reminiscences are real and vivid, while Mrs. Reid has given several lively and interesting chapters on the Soviet child, the new women of Russia, etc. The joint authors have attempted in this monograph to lift up to the reader only such facets of Soviet life in peace and war which might lead to a deeper understanding of the spirit of the Russian peoples, and have done well to avoid the pedantic dialectical jargon and those endless statistical details depicting economic and social progress achieved in the Soviet Union during the last quarter of a century. It is this quality of human approach which makes this book at once lively and convincing, although the reader will come across here and there certain provoking statements regarding Soviet foreign policy and Russia's role in the post-War world which at best may be characterised as out of tune with the general appeal of the book.

Miss Violet Conolly, the distinguished authoress of *Soviet Tempo* and an expert on Soviet economic policy, has written this highly informative pamphlet on Soviet Asia. Russian expansion into Asia, which bears some striking resemblances to the development of the North American continent, began nearly 300 years ago, and was completed in the latter half of the 19th century by the acquisition of the eastern Pacific seaboard and the conquest of Turkestan (Central Asia) to the east of the Caspian. But it is during the last twenty years, under the energetic direction of the Soviets, that the organization and develoment of the hitherto almost untapped resources of Soviet Asia has taken place. It is partly owing to this organization and development that the Russian armies have been enabled to maintain their powerful resistance to the German invaders, even after the loss of large industrial areas in European Russia. Miss Conolly who has widely travelled in these obscure regions has presented in this pamphlet an intimate and interesting account of the economic and social transformations that have been achieved there in recent times.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

WAR-TIME RESTRICTIONS—SUPPLEMENT NO. 1: *By K. M. Desai.*

Mr. Desai has done well in bringing this supplement to his War-Time Restrictions. Government, both Central and Provincial, is legislating with such speed that it is impossible even for a lawyer to keep himself abreast of the tide of legislature. Mr. Desai's supplement will lessen his labour in this respect.

THE INDIA CHARTER: *By J. F. Kotewal. Pp. 458. Karachi. Price Rs. 10-8.*

The book claims to be a description of the vicious circles—small and great, constituting the Indian political deadlock, including an exposition on the Hindu-Muhammadan communal problem and its corollary, Pakistan, with suggestions as to how platforms of communal unity can be evolved, the circles snapped, the problem and the deadlock solved.

The main features of the solution of the Indian problem offered in the book under review are the acceptance of Pakistan in principle, namely, the grant of freedom to Muhammadan majority provinces to remain in or keep out of the Federation of United India, the concession of the same freedom of choice to Indian States and equal representation of Hindus and Muhammadans on all legislative and public bodies and in the public services. The inter-communal relations are to be governed by a treaty renewable every 25 years. The argument is pro-Muhammadan. It contains some good suggestions with much that is trash. Its chief merit lies in the extracts and quotations—which would help a busy public man in getting them easily. It is nicely printed with a useful index.

J. M. DATTA

THE YOGA OF THE SAINTS: *By V. H. Date, M.A., Ph.D. Published by the Popular Book Depot, Lamington Road, Bombay—7. Cloth bound. Pp. 207. Price Rs. 6 only.*

We have read this book with mixed feelings. It has won a Doctorate for the author from the University of Bombay and has been blessed by well-known names

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in philosophy and literature. Naturally such a book should compel our admiration. But when one reads a chapter like the sixth on *Types of Devotion*, one feels that the author does not go far enough and deep enough in philosophy. We are sorry to have to say this. But surely, "*Pada-sevana*, that is resorting to the feet", or "*Namaskara*, that is bowing down or prostrating before God or Godlike persons, without any thought or hesitation," is not philosophy fit for University consumption.

The author must have read a lot of Sanskrit. But in using Sanskrit words, he does not follow the generally accepted mode of transliteration. And the use of the word '*sakhyatva*' (P. 114) to mean friendship is definitely a defiance of grammar.

We are constrained to say that there is a touch of medievalism in the author's presentation of his thesis. And in going through the book, the mind is oppressed with a sense of inadequacy and sometimes even of erudeness.

By the way, do our dealers in Indian Philosophy who speak so much of other-worldliness and God-realisation, really accept them as guiding principles of life? If they did, could they *seek* worldly fame and academic honour? Is not there an inherent contradiction in a Vedantist expecting some economic profit or social value or telling the world of ignorant men that the world we see is not real? We mean no disrespect to, or reflection on, any one in particular. But the superior truth that the world we live in is an illusion is so often paraded before us, that the question becomes pertinent.

U. C. Bhattacharjee

THE WOMAN UNDER THE HINDU LAW OF MARRIAGE & SUCCESSION: *By Hansa Mehta. Pratibha Publication, Peoples' Building, Bombay. Price not mentioned.*

This little pamphlet contains two lectures delivered by the learned author on the two Bills relating to the Hindu Law of Marriage and Succession at Vanasthali Vidyapith. A glance at the proceedings of the Imperial Legislative Council will convince the reader that in every session, an attempt is made to bring some sort of bill to make changes in the provisions of the present Hindu Law. The rules of Hindu Law as observed by the Privy Council in the case of Sri Balusu Gurulinga Swami *vs.* Sri Balusu Rama Lakshana (1899) reported in 21 All. 460, are an admixture of morality, religion and law and it is not often easy to determine where religion ends and morality or law begins. These changes may displease the orthodox section of the Hindu community, but on the other hand it is contended by some learned scholars that the Hindu Law as found in the Smriti text-books "was never meant to be applicable to all the Hindus living over the length and breadth of this ancient land". They therefore suggest that the only cure for this state of things lies in the enactment of uniform and simple codified law. The present Hindu Law, as administered by the Indian Courts, has been slowly built up in the course of ages on a solid foundation of accepted rules and established usages and customs interpreted by commentators and Judges and altered here and there by modern legislation.

The views advocated by the learned author in the book under review deserve careful consideration.

Jitendra Nath Bose

THE NIGHT IS HEAVY: *By Krishan Shungloo. Published by Free India Publications, Lahore. Price Rs. 3.*

There are 29 poems, most of which have been written, as the author says in his note, while a student at Oxford. To quote him, "These poems are essentially subjective. They tell of my struggle with life and its ugly realities."

In many a way Mr. Shungloo discards conventions that he finds particular vehicle chosen for expression of his thoughts. He uses no capital letter; he frees himself from restrictions of punctuations, he aims more at delineation of scenes, actions and thoughts with exactness than with fairness and justice. There is undoubtedly no good poetry in the expressions like "love measured in big salvarsan doses", "the golden embrace of sex-scented limbs", "women bare their breasts for silver pieces", but there are life, vitality and vigour in Mr. Shungloo's poems which will surely entrap any reader's attention. Mr. Shungloo is altogether more a poet of power than a poet of beauty.

DARK TESTAMENT: *By Peter Abrahams. Published by George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London. Price 7s. 6d.*

First published in 1942, *Dark Testament* contains 14 sketches from life as the author saw and felt, and five stories. This is among a few of the works that the British publishers have in the recent years put on the market—they are all by the colonial writers of the day, or they are at least of some colonial interest. These publications, besides opening up new vistas for colonial reciprocity and imperial consolidation, have unearthed the ways of life and feelings among the people of the unrecognized countries like India, Australia or the Dark Continent.

Born in 1919 and brought up in the slum suburb of Johannesburg Peter Abrahams, the author of the book under notice, worked in a tin-smithy when only nine years old. "At this stage somebody told him the stories from Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare*; these fired his childish imagination, and he presented himself at the coloured Government Aided School, so as to learn to write stories like Lamb's *Tales*." His school career, and then his wandering about South Africa "taking part in the political struggle against racial oppression"—have formed the central theme of the sketches, which he captions, "I Remember . . ."

Anybody who will read the stories of Peter Abrahams must like them not only for the strange atmosphere they present, but also for the people who have been dressed up as characters in the stories with their own problems, their own ways of life. Deep in pathos, still shining with humanitarian love and sympathy—characterization by Peter Abrahams is quite a lively art in his hands, both sweet and simple. His themes are collected mostly out of dejection and despair, out of shame and disgrace done to the dark by the white people, out of illiteracy, poverty, slum life.

Santosh Chatterjee

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

ALPHABETICAL INDEX OF SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS IN THE ADYAR LIBRARY: *By Pandit V. Krishnamacharya under the supervision of Prof. C. Kunhan Raja, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon). The Adyar Library. Crown 8 vo. Pp. viii + 210. Price Rs. 10.*

This contains two alphabetical lists: one of the titles and the other of the authors of Sanskrit works, manuscripts of which are possessed by the Adyar Library of Madras. The titles are followed by an indication of the names of the authors and their genealogy where available. The special branch of Sanskrit literature under which a particular work falls is indicated by abbreviations, a list of which (with the exception of छ standing for छन्दः) is appended. References as to important manuscript libraries of South India are made in cases where other MSS. of the works described here are known to exist in those libraries. Titles not met with in the *Catalogus Catalogorum* are marked with asterisks. There may be minor inaccuracies here and there specially owing to defective

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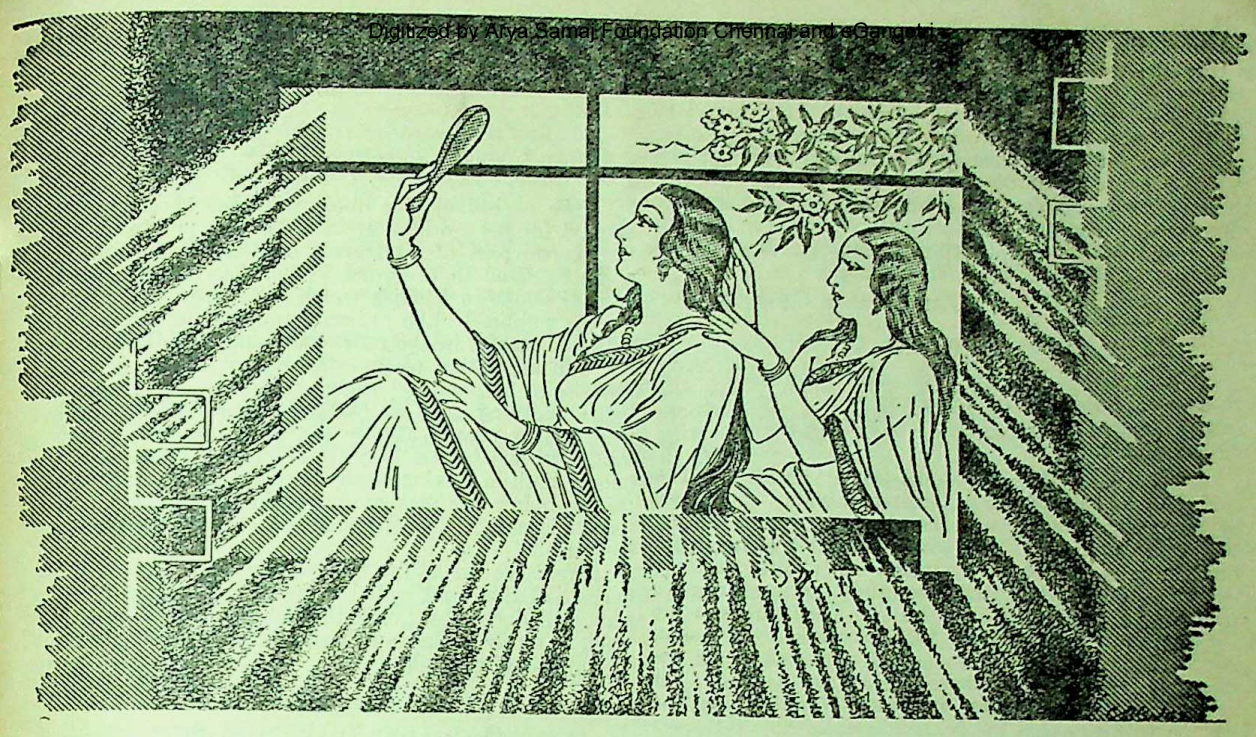

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and imperfect titles occasionally met with in MSS. It is true the work only serves to rouse curiosity of the readers which it cannot satisfy for the lack of any detailed information. But still it will be very useful to all those who have to work with manuscripts, placing, as it does, at their disposal a bird's-eye view of the valuable contents of the library. How one would wish to have such lists for other big manuscript collections all over the country! Unfortunately, however, up till now very few manuscript libraries have brought out such lists, not to speak of complete catalogues.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

DEVENDRA NATH TAGORE: *By Jogesh Chandra Bagal. Published by the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, 243/1 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. Pp. 112. Price 12 annas only.*

This book is No. 45 of the series entitled "The character-sketches of Bengalee literary men" published by the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, the premier literary association of Bengal. The writer has made a name for himself as a wide-awake student of affairs, and a researcher into certain phases of 19th century Bengalee life. In the present booklet he has tried to draw up for us a short sketch of the life and work of Devendra Nath Tagore, better known as the *Maharshi*, who has gained a historic significance more as one of the creators of an atmosphere in which flowered men and women with newer sensitiveness to national self-respect and richer human values. Limitations of space must have been responsible for failure to build a fuller background of the developments that have been re-making India since the days of Raja Ram Mohun Roy. Devendra Nath was fully conscious of this mission as the quotation made from his auto-biography in p. 55 of this book goes to show. Herein we find the fountain-head of the inspiration that has made the Brahmo Samaj the progressive force that it has been in the life of our people.

But as a sketch of "the Maharshi" as a literary man, of literature made into an instrument for releasing forces of change and awakening over the country, the book is a success. The chapter—pp. 84-107—gives us clues to the many books written by him that will enable readers to follow up their studies with a view to understand the life and times of Devendra Nath Tagore, of those activities that are the seed-plots of modern India.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

VICHITRA MANIPUR: *By Nalini Kumar Bhadra. Indian Associated Publishing Company Ltd., Calcutta, 1944. Pages 88. Price Re. 1-8.*

The author who knows Manipur and Manipurees intimately has produced a timely and interesting book on this picturesque land on the borders of Assam and Burma which has recently come into prominence as a crucial battlefield in the war against Japan. The author reminds us that the historic and cultural ties of Bengal with Manipur are varied and rich. This book is not one of those records of subjective impressions, half imaginary and half fantastic, gained while travelling in a foreign country but reveals the true spirit of a people through a painstaking analysis of their racial, cultural and spiritual characteristics. This has been possible because of the author's deep-rooted sympathy for and understanding of the inherent simplicity and goodness and the artistic and chivalrous temperament of the Manipuri people. The author's style is picturesque and fascinating. The book contains a chapter on "The Lampi" based on Colonel Chapman's book of the same name which describes the construction of the new Silchar Bishenpore Road. Dr. Kalidas Nag has contributed a delightful preface to the volume.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

EUROPE—(ENGLAND AND GERMANY): *By Kshitish Chandra Banerjee. Published by the author from Garia, 24-Parganas. Pages 171. Price Rs. 2-8 only.*

The author of this book, with Rs. 11 and a cycle, started for his world tour in 1933. The present book is the second part of his travels in Bengali, the first part being confined to Italy and France. He has also written several books in English which have been well received by the public. Unlike ordinary tourists he mixed freely with the masses in the cities and country folks and thus he is in a position to give the benefit of the first-hand knowledge of men and things as he has seen in foreign lands. Nothing good or bad escaped his keen eyes but he is never unsympathetic towards foreigners. As a matter of fact he was very well received by the ordinary people both in England and Germany. As he finished his travels before the present war broke out we have a very clear picture of the German life and temperament of the time.

We have no doubt that the readers' labour in the perusal of this book will be amply paid for in pleasure they will derive by going through the narrations. The book is nicely bound and well printed and it is written in an attractive style.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

BUDDHA-CHARIT (PART II): *By Suryanarayan Chowdhury, M.A. Published by Sanskrit Bhawan, Kathotia, P.O. Kajha (Purnea). Pp. 164. Price Re. 1.*

We had occasion to review the first part of the translation of Lord Buddha's life by Asvaghosh in these columns last year. Now has come the second part, which, also, has been based on the English translation of Dr. Johnston. The translation has been quite good and in simple Hindi, which makes reading both easy and interesting.

M. S. SENGAR

TELUGU

KADHA LAHARI: *Edited and compiled by Sri Siva Sankara Sastri. Published by Andhra Pracharani Limited, Rajhmundry. Copyright reserved. Pp. 207. Price Re. 1 only.*

This is a good collection of short stories. Almost all the writers included in this book are wellknown in the literary field. The stories are of varied character and are extremely entertaining. The most enjoyable piece is 'Baki',—a short story full of humorous situations.

There is sanity and restraint in most of the sketches and from the literary standpoint some of them are remarkable.

K. V. SUBBA RAO

GUJARATI

APNUN VADODARA (*Our Baroda*): *By Ramesh Ranganath Gautum. Published by the Publicity Department, Baroda, 1943. Paper cover. Illustrated. Pp. 58.*

The fifteenth session of the Gujarati Literary Conference was held at Baroda during the Christmas holidays of the current year (1943). A large concourse of persons who were interested in Gujarati Literature had gathered together and the distribution of this brochure, which sets out the beauty and utility spots of the capital city of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad was a welcome step and the reader will be interested to find very useful information conveyed therein. It should be preserved as a memento.

K. M. J.

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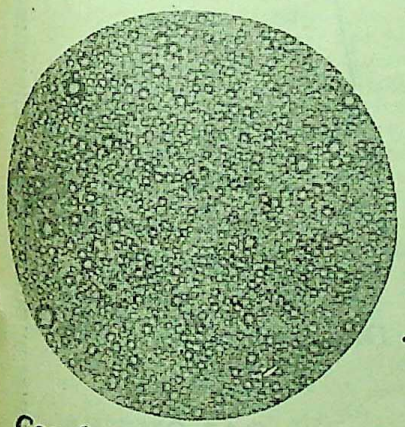

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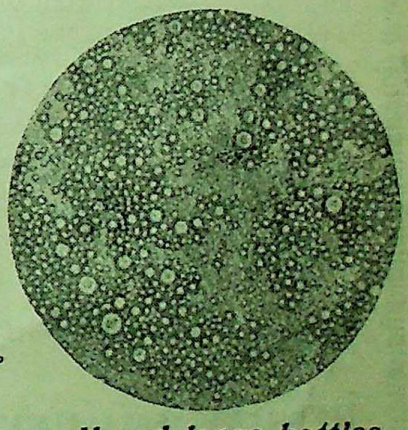

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

A Moment With Lin Yutang

The conflict in the soul of modern China is mirrored in the conflict in the mind of one of her most gifted living sons. Khwaja Ahmad Abbas writes in *The Aryan Path*:

It was with considerable misgivings that I met Lin Yutang. Would he belie my mental picture of him based upon the impression created by his books? But he did not. He is as wise as the compiler of *The Wisdom of China and India* can be expected to be; he has the serenity, sense of humour and love of life of *The Importance of Living*; his conversation is flavoured *With Love* (of human beings) *and* (gentle) *Irony*. In him is the agelessness of *Moment in Peking* as well as the tempestuous fighting spirit of *A Leaf in the Storm*. As one talks to him one feels his transition from the gay and gentle philosopher who wrote *The Importance of Living* to the embittered and disillusioned idealist who wrote *Between Tears and Laughter*. The experience of his people during the last seven years has changed both the content and the tone of Lin Yutang's writings, and I think it has changed him personally, too.

Like Nehru of India, he too is a joint product of the East and the West, and citizen of the world. his feet planted firmly in the soil of China, drawing wisdom and spiritual nourishment from the Good Earth, but his eyes fixed on the Western horizon. Like Nehru, gain, it is not the outward glitter of material prosperity hat draws him to the West but, rather, that spirit of curiosity and the scientific outlook that are the real contributions of the West to the structure of world thought.

Men are what they are because of what they have experienced and Lin Yutang's life is the key to his character and his attitude to life.

He was born forty-nine years ago in Amoy on the south-east coast of China, the son of a humble Christian pastor. The family was poor but the father was a great scholar both of the Christian scriptures and of the Chinese classics and there was a literary atmosphere in the house where young Yutang grew up. It was this atmosphere, rather than serious study, that was the making of the future writer, for he took school work lightly and was known for his indifference to text-books. But, growing up in a house that was poorly furnished but stacked with books, words acquired a fascination for him. He read everything he could lay his hands upon—except the text-books, of course ! Soon he wanted to write himself and when he went to St. John's University in Shanghai for his B.A. degree, his contributions to the college magazine attracted attention for their light and breezy style. After graduation in 1916 he was sent to Harvard where he took his Master's degree in comparative literature. From America he migrated to Germany where he studied philology in the Leipzig University from 1921 to 1923. This was the period of the severest economic crisis in Germany and the sensitive young man from China had his cloistered student life constantly disturbed by the grim spectre of poverty that he saw everywhere.

It is interesting also to observe the peculiarly varied influences of Chinese classicism, care-free American college life and serious German study producing an intellect that is mellow, analytical and vigorous. With all that, when he returned to China and joined the Peking National University, Lin Yutang was only a brilliant young professor of philology and comparative literature.

The Peking University at that time was a centre of progressive thought and the minds of all educated youths in China were filled with democratic ideas. An obscure Doctor Sun Yat-Sen had fired their imagination—most of all, that of the young Professor Lin. When the Revolution broke out he left the University and joined the "rabble" that was to overthrow the ancient Manchu dynasty.

In 1927 he quitted all jobs and decided to devote his time entirely to writing.

With the help of some friends he started a weekly paper *China Critic* which he edited and, under the pseudonym of "The Little Critic," he wrote in it a memorable series of articles.

These writings attracted considerable attention both in China and abroad and led to the writing of Lin Yutang's first great work, the monumental *My Country and My People*, that appeared in the United States in 1935, and still remains the best introduction to China.

The Test is Poland

The New Review observes :

The action along the Russian front during August was limited to a series of attacks and counter-attacks; such a mutual probing of the front usually heralds a big offensive but most of the fighting was on a reduced scale except for the key-point of Siauliai at which a breach would be fatal to the Nazi armies in the Baltic countries. Hitler in forcing his generals to hold fast to the Baltic countries committed a huge blunder which Mr. Churchill said even the 'military idiots' across the Channel would not perpetrate. Blunders and defeats wrought untold havoc. The discontent of some Nazi generals rankled into disaffection. Turkey became frigid. Bulgaria turned hostile and Rumania rushed to the help to the victorious side.

What is most perplexing on the eastern front is the Polish question which came to a climax with the Soviet approach to Warsaw. Many dislike unpalatable old truths and prefer to shift their point of view as if it always meant progress, but one must never tire of repeating the basic fact that Poland was, is and will remain the test of our war achievements. What makes matters so complex is the unpredictable policy of Stalin. Long ago he had dreamed of establishing Wanda Wasilewska and her Union of Polish Patriots as the government of Poland. Then as her subservience to the Soviet became by far too patent, he gave her up and he took to the Polish National Council which emerged from the Moscow backstreets under the obscure Morawski. His plan would be to base the Government of Poland on the Polish regiments now in Russia and a National Council that would take possession of the liberated country, possession being nine points of the law. Then the Government-in-exile would be told : 'Either you join us or you stay where you are.'

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But President Mikolajczyk cannot easily be brushed aside. He has his heroic legions in Italy and France and his Underground Army in Poland; on the other hand, he is determined to avoid civil war at all costs. A tireless pilgrim of Polish nationalism, he went to Washington and came back a sad man; he went to Moscow and came back sadder still. He then played his last triump: as the Russians approached Warsaw he ordered his Underground Army to revolt. The Polish Underground captured most of the town, but the Russian attack was not pursued and the Polish Underground as forced back into the old city, where they hold on thanks to munitions dropped by R.A.F. planes coming from far away Italy. It was the first time that the Soviet command did not support guerilla warfare behind the Nazi front.

The Polish puzzle is becoming a tragedy; the solution is in the hands of Stalin. He has given proof of elasticity in some directions. Recently he passed new regulations on marriage and maternity which a Kofnsomol girl summarised in the slogan. 'More children, fewer careers'; he has come to bank heavily on Russian nationalism and patronises a new film about one whom children of Tsarist days called 'Ivan the Terrible' and whom communist youths are taught to call 'Ivan the Good'. But politically he is rigidly dull and cannot fancy a democratic system that would not be according to the Sovietic pattern.

Gandhiji's Religion

The Aryan Path observes:

The Discipline of Yoga of the Gandhian ascetic is a fourfold one. The Triad of Service, Truth and Love requires a Quaternary for manifestation. This Quaternary Gandhiji has put forth as the Square of Swaraj. In *Harijan* of January 2, 1937, he speaks of "Ramraj, *i.e.*, the sovereignty of the people based on pure moral authority"—and that can be realised by the nation only if a fourfold Self-reliance is practised. Swa-raj, Self-rule, means the Triad of the Soul, the God within, the Inner Ruler, has become the Master of life and of all possessions of life. Life in Matter means a life of possessions and these are (1) Political, (2) Economic, (3) Social and (4) Spiritual. Writes Gandhiji:—

Let there be no mistake about my conception of Swaraj. It is complete independence of alien control and complete economic independence. So at one end you have political independence at the other the economic. It has two other ends. One of them is moral and social, the corresponding end is Dharma, *i.e.*, religion in the highest sense of the term. It includes Hinduism, Islam, Christianity etc., but is superior to them all. You may recognize it by the name of Truth, not the honesty of expedience but the living Truth that pervades everything and will survive all destruction and all transformation. Moral and social uplift may be recognized by the term we are used to, *i.e.*, non-violence. Let us call this the square of Swaraj which will be out of shape if any of its angles is untrue. In the language of the Congress we cannot achieve this political and economic freedom without truth and non-violence, in concrete terms, without a living faith in God and hence moral and social elevation.

By political independence I do not mean an imitation of the British House of Commons, or the Soviet rule of Russia or the Fascist rule of Italy or the Nazi rule of Germany. They have systems suited to their genius. We must have ours suited to ours. What that can be is more than I can tell. I have described it as Ramraj, *i.e.*, sovereignty of the people based on pure moral authority. The Congress constitutions of Nagpur and Bombay for which I am mainly responsible are n attempt to achieve this type of Swaraj.

Then take economic independence. It is not a product of industrialization of the modern or the Western type. Indian economic independence means to me the economic uplift of every individual male and female by his or her own conscious effort. Under that system all men and women will have enough clothing—not mere loin cloth, but what we understand by the term necessary articles of clothing—and enough food including milk and butter which are today denied to millions.

This brings me to socialism. Real socialism has been handed down to us by our ancestors who taught: "All land belongs to Gopal, where then is the boundary line? Man is the maker of that line and he can therefore unmake it." Gopal literally means shepherd, it also means God. In modern language it means the State, *i.e.*, the people. That the land today does not belong to the people is too true. But the fault is not in the teaching. It is in us who have not lived up to it.

I have no doubt that we can make as good an approach to it as is possible for any nation, not excluding Russia, and that without violence. The most effective substitute for violent dispossession is the wheel with all its implications. Land and all property is his who will work it. Unfortunately the workers are or have been kept ignorant of this simple fact.

—*Harijan*, January 2, 1937.

Improvements of Rice Yields in India

S. P. Aiyar writes in *Science and Culture*:

At present, the main problem is to adopt practical measures. One may recommend the use of high yielding varieties, the provision of adequate water supply and the intensive use of fertilizers. The difficulty in adopting these suggestions is the inadequate supply of each of the items required.

Even assuming the simplified formula that much improvement in the yield of paddy is possible by the use of ammonium sulphate and superphosphate alone one is faced with the problem of supply. If every sulphuric acid plant in India were to divert its total production of acid to the manufacture of superphosphate from bones for 2 or 3 months a large stock may be accumulated. Ammonium sulphate is a more difficult problem as the existing Indian resources are quite small. Substitutes, such as oil cakes,, may be useful but in the author's view, cannot adequately replace ammonium sulphate.

The quantity of fertilizer to be applied must be adequate for the purpose in view. The minimum rate of application should be between 40 and 80 lb. of nitrogen and phosphoric acid per acre, preferably in the form of ammonium sulphate and superphosphate respectively. It will be useless to apply smaller doses over a wider area if increase in yield is the paramount consideration. It must also be mentioned that manuring the seedbed is of doubtful value for increasing the yield of crop.

While such temporary war time measures are in progress fundamental researches should be initiated to discover the full facts about paddy nutrition and fill up the numerous gaps in our knowledge of this subject. The time is opportune, as war conditions have brought into prominence the insufficient food supply in the country and the weak position of the rice-eating areas. It is hoped, therefore, that fundamental researches would receive encouragement and adequate financial support.

Racism and the Colour Problem—Far and Near

G. A. Chandavarkar writes in *The Indian Review*:

During the last two or three centuries, with the enormous expansion of the whiteman's political and economic domination nearly all the world over, there has been a corresponding rousing of the race conscious-

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ness among the "ruled coloured people", with the result that the impact has either led to clashes of varying intensities or in some cases to a happy intermingling of the races for their mutual benefit. Of late, however, both the race problem and the colour problem have become so acute that they have become world-issues, on the equitable solution of which depends largely he future peace of the world. On the one hand, the irreconcilable protagonist of the white man proclaims that "The black man can never understand the whiteman, nor the white the black, as long as black is black and white is white." On the other hand, the subjugated coloured man feels that mere ethnological differences can by no means be a bar to his attainment of political equality or economic freedom. He has no faith either in the "ruling race theory" or in the view that "the whiteman's mission is to farm the world." "It is also noteworthy that queer notions of racism have led to strange and unhappy results in world's history. At times, peoples belonging to the same race with varying political aspirations have come into terrible conflicts, *e.g.*, the Jews and the Arabs among the Semetic races. the Germans and the British among the Teutons and the Chinese and the Japanese among the Mongoloids.

Certain races, imbued with the notions of capitalistic imperialism or of race superiority, look down upon the coloured people with callousness.

They look down upon the coloured people with supreme callousness, so much so that they are considered not only unfit for "self-determination" but also not quite worthy of even disinterested partnership. because of the existence of peculiar communal differences among them.

Such an attitude has naturally led to disquieting situations. No amount of pious wishes expressed in solemn conclaves or clauses embodied in charters can stem the rising tide of race consciousness, nor can huge armaments and the terrible weapons of destruction at the command of the powers achieve their purpose. Psychological causes underlying this strange malady deserve to be diagnosed and remedies applied. Else, the edifice of future peace of the world will have been built upon sand.

When once power over the weak is attained, will to retain it persists. Gradually self-assertiveness even of the weaker makes him resist the wish of the stronger not to part with power. Inferiority complex developed in the subjugated owing to fear or terror eventually becomes a passing phase. Desperation ultimately takes its place. Even the notions of a lower standard of living of the coloured races have no rational basis, because the criterion differs. Can it be argued that a life of "Plain living and High thinking" is inferior to a life of feverish existence, hurryburry, bustle, restlessness and the multiplication of luxuries of modern times? Clearly then, racism is a great impediment in the path of panhumanism. Hence it is that Dr. Boas says "Racism as a basis of social solidarity is against the cultural interest of mankind." Mutual goodwill and the shedding of mistrust and distrust backed by feelings of give and take are perhaps the only antidotes to the malady eating into the vitals of the powers that be, be they in Central Europe or Australia or South Africa.

In the British Dominions where out of seven people, six are coloured the problem is of vital importance.

In different regions it has assumed different forms. In Australia, it has arisen out of economic causes, such as wage-rivalry. In South Africa, it is alleged to be the outcome of inequalities in the standard of living. In India, it is *the conception of a particular type of political freedom* that has made it so complex and even embarrassing at times. Researches of linguists and orientalists have established the fact that the Britisher and the Indo-Aryan originally belong to the same race, *viz.*, the Caucasian. Only long residence in hot climates has given rise to differences in the externals, just as it is possible that the Anglo-Saxon race in Australia centuries after may undergo such marked ethnological changes as to disbelieve the oneness of their original stock. Culturally, Indians are not backward. What then is the impediment in the path?

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Problem of Power

The problem of power is the major problem which confronts humanity to-day. *The Month* writes editorially :

Science and invention have placed at man's disposal frightening instruments for the display of power. Yet, the problem of power cannot be solved, in the final instance, by power-politics, though it is true, as we have already insisted, that diplomacy, based upon power-politics was able to maintain the peace of Europe more effectively and for a longer period than did the ideals of 1919-1939, only half-accepted and half-trusted. However, in the long run, power cannot solve the problem of power. For some time, after the war, there will have to be an armistice regime that will disarm Germany in Europe and Japan in Asia, and will allow Germany's neighbours and Japan's neighbours to develop their resources and to provide, and have provided for them, reasonable security against aggression. This armistice regime may last for ten or more years ; and at least a generation will have to pass before the fears and hatreds engendered by this war will have been finally dispelled. The Allied Powers that will dispose of an overwhelming military and material superiority when the war is concluded, must keep the peace for the ime being, and they must do their best—in the interests of an eventual peace settlement—to discipline their national and imperialist ambitions for the world's common good. However, they will have to be looking ahead and thinking in longer terms. A short-term policy there must be, involving the occupation of the enemy countries, with whatever punitive measures will be deemed just and necessary. Europe, and indeed the entire world, must be given the chance of reviving, of gathering strength, and conducting their affairs normally. But it has to be recognized that this is merely a short-term policy—to be followed by a new ordering of international relationships, on the basis of generally accepted moral principles. The major defect of the League of Nations, as we knew it from 1919 to 1939, was just this uncertainty about moral principles, however peace-loving may have been its general attitude. Rarely has Mr. Christopher Dawson written so well on this subject as in a recent short article in the Bulletin of the Sword of the Spirit. His argument is the following :

"The establishment of a true international order depends therefore on the recognition of an international law which rests not on the power of the Great States nor on the will of the majority but on the immutable rock of the moral law. This law of justice and truth makes a natural appeal to every human being and it is therefore the immanent source of social order both in the national and international sphere, both for the City and the World. It is only when this moral basis of international order has been secured that it is possible to realise a truly organic conception of the society of nations. Every nation has its own genius and its own tradition of culture which it strives to preserve at all costs as a sacred inheritance. But this legitimate will to natural self-expression may become a form of collective selfishness which sacrifices the rights of others to its blind will to power, unless peoples have a lear sense of their moral responsibility to the whole—to the society of nations in general and to their neighbours and partners in particular. It has been the weakness of modern nationalism to undervalue or to ignore these wider social responsibilities and to regard national citizenship—the relation of the individual to the sovereign State as the one all-inclusive relation to which all other human and moral rights must be sacrificed. But it has not always been so. In the past the rich diversity and spontaneity of local and national tradition was combined with the consciousness of a common European culture and with the acceptance of common Christian standards. Christendom was in fact a true international society—a family of nations, united in spiritual kinship and acknowledging a common spiritual law. And it is hard to see how an organic international order can e created unless the primacy of the spiritual is restored. A materialist, international order will inevitably be a region of power, as we see in the totalitarian States to-day; and in so far as it is a reign of power without spiritual purposes, it will only breed fresh wars and lead us back to a more complete catastrophe."

Wise words which bring us back to the fundamenisl difficulty. Superior power is necessary to overcome aggression, which itself has been and is the misuse and exploitation of power. Power may only be overcome by superior power ; but the problem of power cannot be solved, ultimately, in this way. The one solution lies in the dedication of power to nobler ends and for higher and more abiding values. You can resolve the frightful situation created by power only by transcending he whole sphere of power, that is, only in terms of moral, human and finally spiritual principles.

Science and Religion

In an article under the caption, "The Church and Science", in *The Month*, F. Sherwood Taylor observes :

In the second half of the XIXth century science had grown so important, universal and influential that the scientist began to say, "This mechanical model of the universe represents all concerning which we have knowledge," from which agnostic position it was a short step to the atheistic position of to-day, in which science is not opposed to religion, but considers the question of the existence of spiritual beings to be something outside science, and therefore as not being a matter for serious discussion by scientific men, in which class nearly everyone who interests himself in scientific discovery wishes to be included.

There has not been merely a change in the standards of interpretation of the Scriptures; there has been a new world-picture which has become implicit in the common talk and journalism of the day. The man in the street may not understand the foundations or the conclusions of science, but he has accepted its standard of evidence and its method. There has indeed been a change of front. Until the XIXth century, the feature of the conflict we have been discussing was religious intolerance of scientific views. The boot is now on the other foot. Science has become the repository of inviolable dogma—not as to fact but as to method. The religious are the heretics. The man of science has constructed a creed which is not the weaker because it is held implicitly.

Where is the blame for this state of affairs to be laid? I do not think Galileo, Descartes and Newton had any idea that they were the founders of a world-wide system of atheism—yet the essential mischief had

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been done before its populariśers, from Voltaire to Huxley, had got to work. Was the Church to blame, I wonder, for its failure to see what was coming, and to meet it? It is not easy to see what could have been done—except to do much sooner what has now been done, namely, to give a generous welcome to scientific progress, to adopt a liberal view of the possibility of the re-interpretation of the Scriptures, in such a manner as to relinquish nothing of the faith, yet give the fullest scope for teaching and research. May we not think that if the Church had, from the seventeenth century till to-day, encouraged, financed and promoted science, as she did philosophy in the middle ages, science might to-day be glorifying God instead of belittling man.

My terms of reference are historical: it is not for me to look to the present or the future. But I must say that the greatest of present-day religious tasks is the analysis of the cause of aversion between religion and science: and the construction of a scheme or discovery of a method whereby science may take its full part but no more in the affairs of man and of Humanity. As Art and Religion co-operated in the painters and builders of the middle ages, so science and religion must co-operate to-day in us. We barely know how they can be persuaded to co-exist in man's mind; but the consummation of a marriage between them is a task on which every apt intelligence should now be bent.

The Paper Industry of India

In the article entitled "Paper-making Materials of the British Empire" in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* (August, 1944), we read the following under the heading 'India':

The paper industry of India has been long established, the first mill commencing operation as early as 1825. In 1870 the first mill of importance started production. This was followed at intervals by other mills, and by 1900 the paper produced in India amounted approximately to 20,000 tons. In 1925, there were nine mills in production. Up to this time the staple indigenous raw material for pulp production was sabai grass (*Ischoemum angustifolium*), common in Northern and Central India. Although India has a large population the paper demand is relatively small. Nevertheless the country's requirements represent a fair-sized industry, and in order to increase the production of home-made pulp it was necessary to look for other material than sabai grass the supplies of which were limited and not capable of further expansion. Through the outstanding work of Raitt, bamboo was shown to be a suitable material to meet the local demand in many respects. A protective tariff, imposed in 1925 on imported paper which competed with Indian-made sorts, greatly assisted the aper industry and enabled bamboo pulp to be developed as the main local material. A further tariff in 1932 on imported wood pulp had the effect of countering the increased use of this material. The mills then began to increase the production of bamboo pulp, which had already established itself as suitable for writing, printing, bank, ledger and other classes of paper. Sabai grass having its own characteristics, is retained for some classes of paper, and is the chief material employed in the United Provinces and the Punjab, where adequate supplies of bamboo are not available. Otherwise bamboo is the main indigenous material employed. In the years from 1925 to 1931 the average annual production of

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bamboo pulp was about 2,000 tons, grass pulp about 10,000 tons, imported wood pulp 17,000 tons. By 1939, the production of bamboo pulp had risen to about 33,000 tons, sabai grass pulp amounted to 22,000 tons, while the imported wood pulp had fallen to approximately 13,000 tons.

There were in 1939 some twelve paper mills operating in India, producing 73,000 tons of paper, as compared with 27,000 tons in 1925.

Recently it has been shown that "kraft" pulp can be made from bamboo, and production on a commercial scale has commenced.

Attention has been given to materials for mechanical pulp. Projects for the establishment of newsprint mills in Kashmir and Tehri-Gahrwal States, employing local fir and spruce, are under consideration. India imported prior to the war about 35,000 tons of newsprint, some 25,000 tons of paper board, and about 40,000 tons of other kinds of paper.

The Future of Civil Aviation

In an article under the above caption in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* (July, 1944), Sir A. H. Roy Fedden regrets that the average Britisher lacks the spirit and interest in being sufficiently air-minded as compared with the ordinary man in the street in the United States :

The adventurous spirit and gallantry of our youth in the air, so finely brought out in the present war, and the innate engineering sense and ability of our technicians to improvise and develop a particular line of thought to a logical conclusion, are outstanding qualities of the British character, which will contribute in no small way to our future success in civil aviation. It may, however, be worth while looking at one or two of the unsatisfactory trends in our make-up which we must guard against, because undoubtedly we have certain characteristics which might be inclined to hold us back in civil aviation, just as we have others which will tend to spur us forward.

Firstly, I would note the general apathy of the average Britisher towards civil aviation, as compared with, for instance, the ordinary man in the street in the United States. We are all justly proud of the magnificent work of the Royal Air Force and of the success and supremacy of British made military aircraft, but even so, the average civilian does not visualise that e is going to fly very much after the war ; he does not look upon it as his inheritance in the same way that his forefathers looked upon the sea. I do not think that he can be entirely blamed for this, for he has not been properly educated on the subject, and moreover, British civil aviation at the outbreak of war was not in a state to thrill him very much.

For the future it is imperative that we build up a good national air morale, and that we lay down a well considered policy on air line operation, giving a strong and virile lead which can be understood and approved by the man in the street, both at home and in the Dominions. There is every hope that the apathy towards aviation will change when our Air Force personnel come back into civil life.

Surgeons Hail New Metal in Saving Lives

James C. Loary writes :

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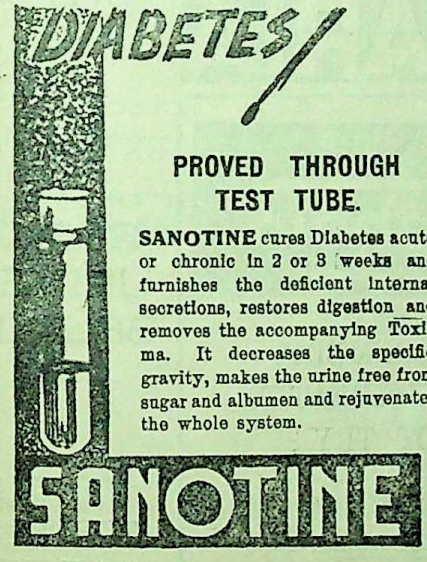

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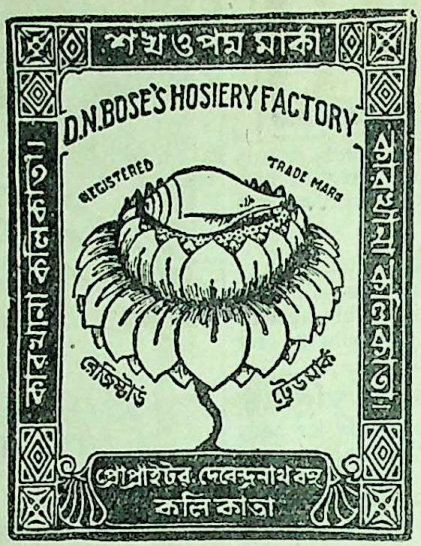

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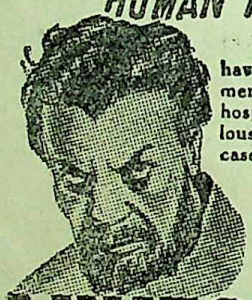

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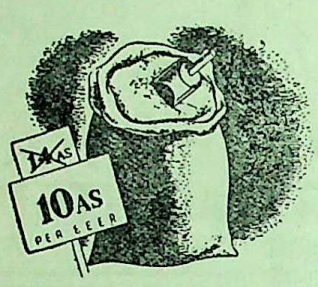

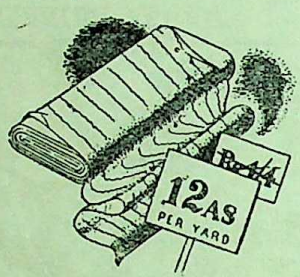

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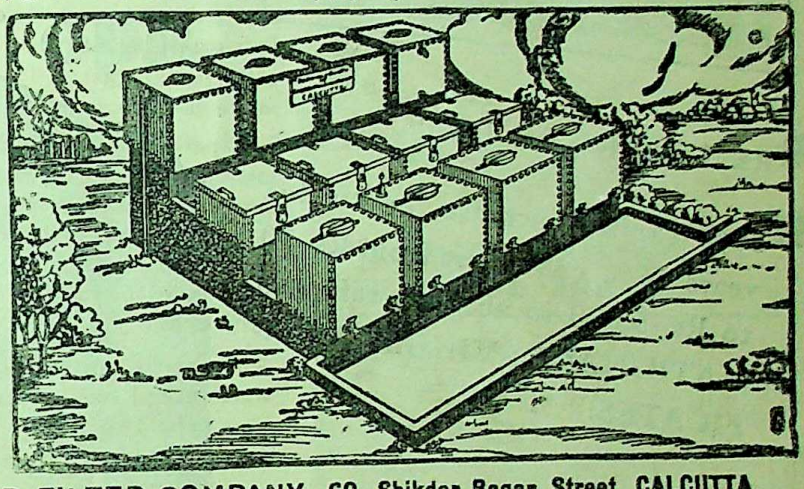

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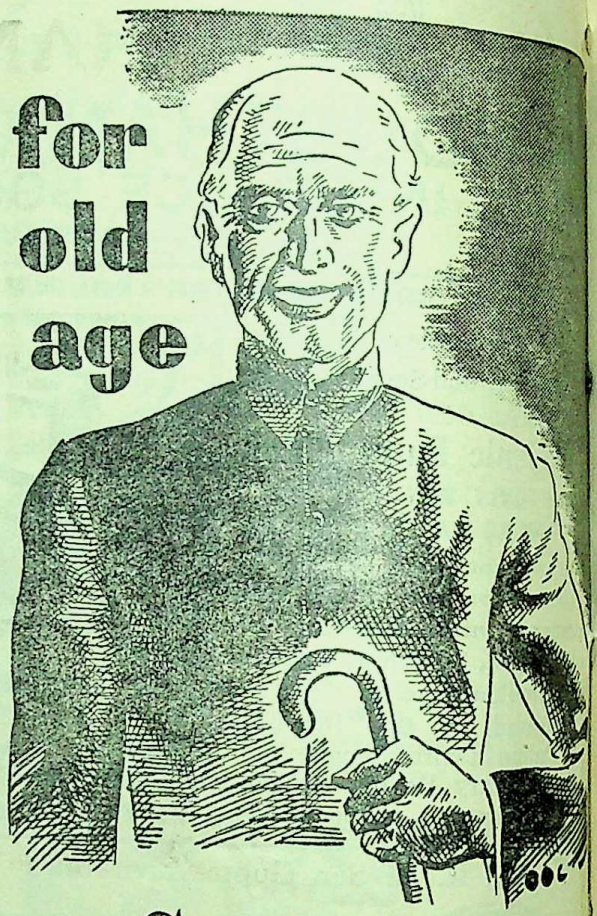

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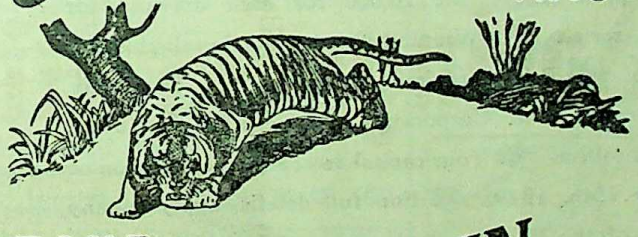

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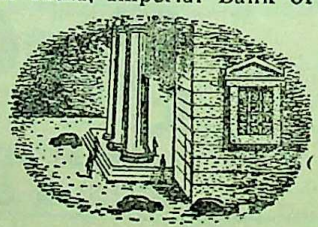

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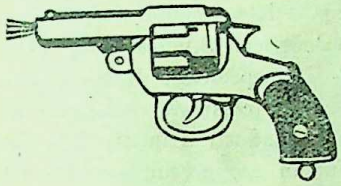

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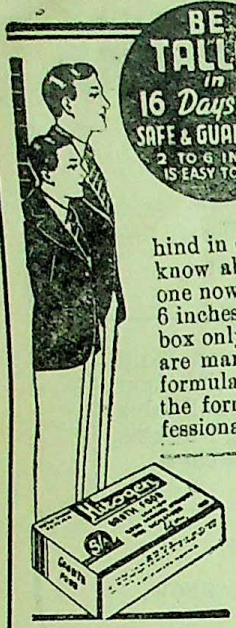

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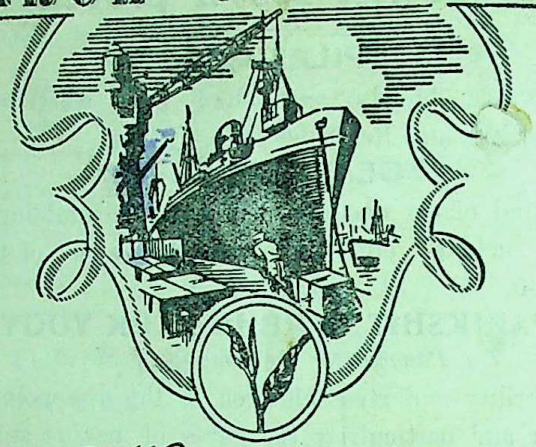

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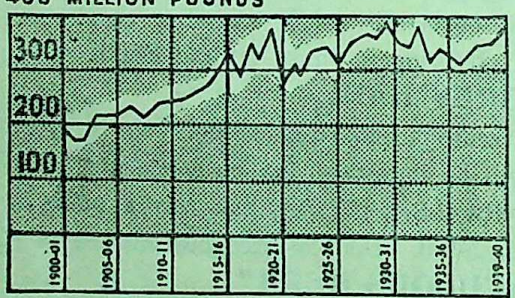

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1944 :: DECEMBER

Received on 5. 1. 1945
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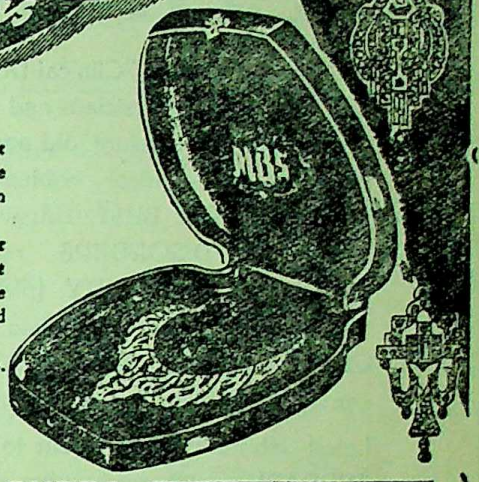

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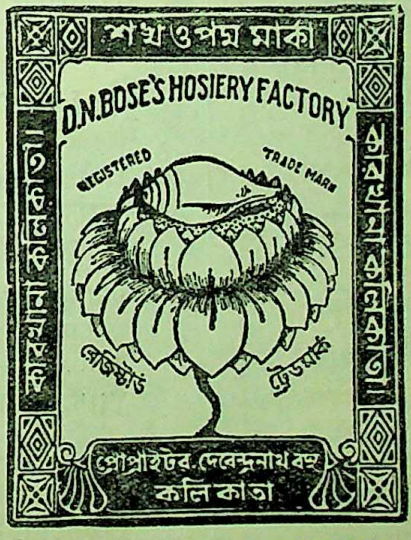

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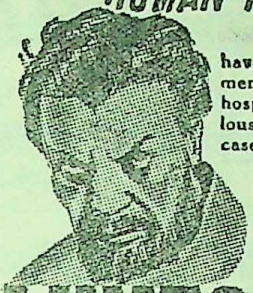

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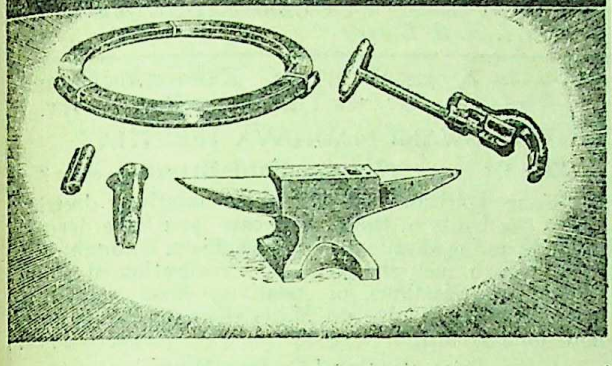

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THE MODERN REVIEW

Vol. LXXVI., No. 6 Whole No. 456

CONTENTS FOR DECEMBER, 1944

	Page
FRONTISPIECE—A VILLAGE SCENE —(*in colours*)—*Manindra Bhusan Gupta*	
NOTES	269
THE WORLD AND THE WAR (*illust.*)— *Kedar Nath Chatterji* ...	279
THE NEGOTIATIONS AND AFTER—*D. N. Banerjee*	281
INDIA AS DEPICTED BY AN ENGLISH LADY—*St. Nihal Singh* ...	286
THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE (*illust.*) —*Prof. H. S. Bennett* ...	289

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3.	DEPOSITS	,,	1,29,64,308
4.	OTHER SUNDRY ACCOUNTS	,,	4,35,697
5.	BILLS FOR COLLECTION ...	,,	61,049
6.	PROFIT & LOSS ACCOUNT	,,	1,07,148
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1.	CASH IN HAND & DEPOSIT WITH BANKS ETC. ...	Rs.	31,98,113
2.	INVESTMENT IN G. P. NOTES & MARKETABLE SHARES (Market value—Rs. 39,16,000)	,,	35,02,949
3.	LAND, BUILDING, PROPERTY & FURNITURE ...	,,	3,71,493
4.	LOANS & ADVANCES & BILLS DISCOUNTED ...	,,	67,65,929
5.	BILLS FOR COLLECTION ...	,,	61,049
6.	OTHER ASSETS	,,	3,62,631
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CONTENTS—(Continued)

	PAGE
THE PLACE OF INDIAN ART IN THE INDIAN UNIVERSITIES (*illust.*)—*O. C. Gangoly*	291
THE MALABAR MATRIARCHY — *Prof. Krishna Prasanna Mukerji, M.A., B.L., D.Phil. (Heidelberg)*	294
DESTITUTION AT CONTAI THANA, MIDNAPUR—*Ramkrishna Mukherjee, M.Sc.* ...	296
ANOTHER UNDECLARED WAR AGAINST CHINA—*A Student Of Chinese Affairs* ...	303
BOOK REVIEWS: ...	306—309
H. C. Mookerjee, U. C. Bhattacharjee, A. B. Dutta, D. Burman. Sudhir Kumar Lahiri, G. M., M. S. Sengar, K. V. Subba Rao, K. M. J.	

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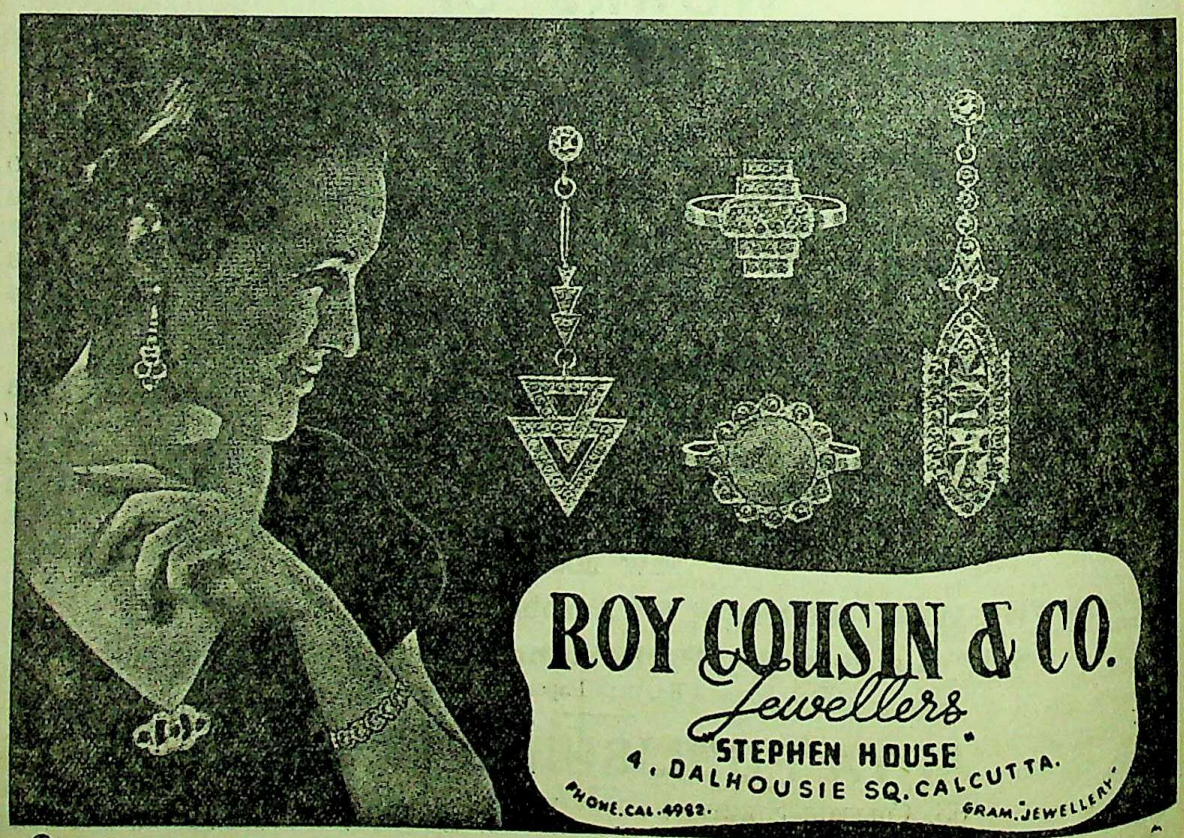

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CONTENTS—(Continued)

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		Page
INDIAN PERIODICALS:	...	...
The Bengal Famine	...	310–311
East European Front	...	... 310
War and Oil	...	... 311
FOREIGN PERIODICALS:	...	... 311
The Employment of Negroes in United States War Industries	...	313–314
Underground Waters	...	... 313
		... 314

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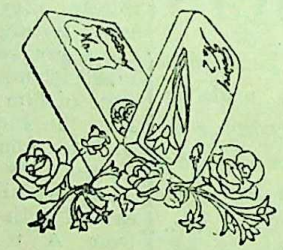

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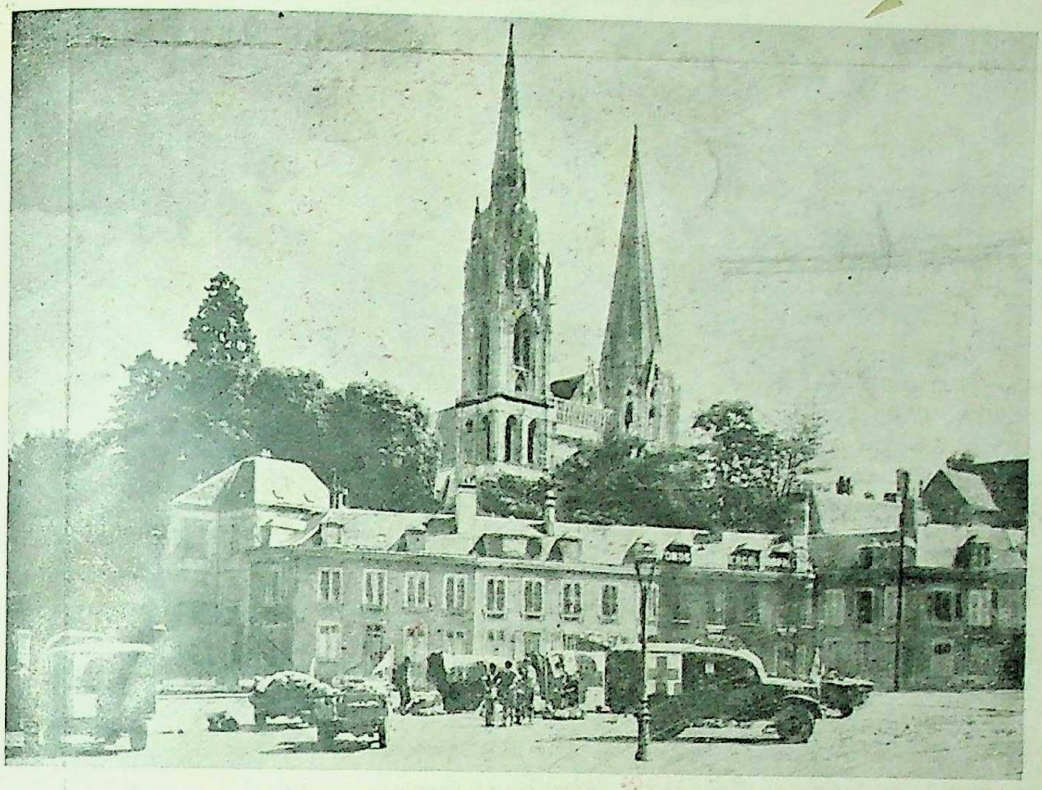

U. S. Army Melical Corps units are shown in Chartres, France. The beautiful 12th Century Cathedral, with its twin steeples, can be seen looming in the background

Chinese and American forces take Myitkyina. Pictured in the background a Burmese temple may be seen on the banks of the Irrawady river

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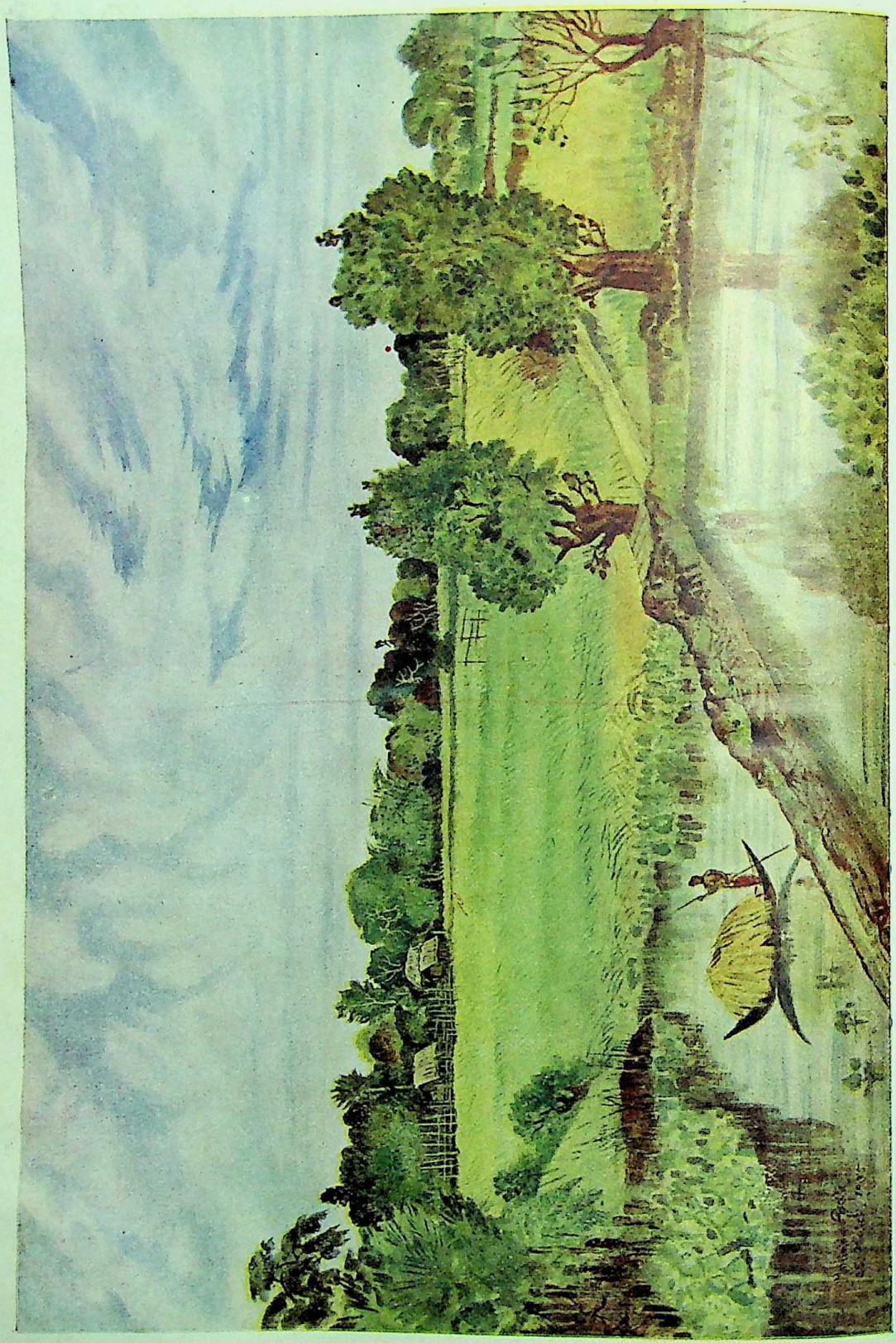

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THE MODERN REVIEW

DECEMBER 1944

VOL. LXXVI, No. 6 WHOLE No. 456

NOTES

C. R. Throws New Light on Communal Problem

Out of evil cometh good. In his address to the Nagpur University Convocation Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar has given a masterly analysis of the Muslim League's attitude towards Pakistan and the Congress view-point on it. This restatement of the communal case would, we believe, be of the utmost help in stemming the drift which is pushing the peoples of India to the sure abyss of destruction. Two significant passages from his speech are quoted below. Analysing the League attitude C. R. says :

By all means let us prefer to let things remain unsolved rather than agree to anything dishonourable or tyrannical, but it is not dishonour or submission to tyranny to allow the majorities in any area to be in more than subordinate charge of the affairs of those areas, which is the offer that we made to Mr. Jinnah and with which he is not satisfied.

Muslim leadership has, in my humble opinion, shown an incapacity for courageously following up its own declared policy. It is ever the case, that we show more courage when demanding something which the other party will not give, than when it arrives and claims our acceptance and responsibility. The dangers and troubles of a sovereign separate State become more obvious when it is offered than when it was demanded and refused. The Muslim League obviously prefers controversy to the responsibilities of government. It finds a sense of success in functioning as a well-disciplined party in opposition to any advance towards democratic rule in India, which is easier than the undertaking of a separate state in the present world. It is not the champions of unitary Government, nor the Akhand Hindustan leadership, but the Muslim League itself that has dealt a severe blow and caused a set-back to the Pakistan claim. If the League's contention is that Pakistan cannot maintain itself without the inclusion of non-Muslim areas within its boundaries, it is a fatal admission against the case for separation and makes the argument for united India unanswerable.

Then he states the Congress case very ably in these words :

If we wish to advance in our programme we must seize such opportunities and such power as and when they come, and use them to heal the diseases that have developed in the body politic.

We should use them to build up the habit of a common purpose cutting across clans, creeds and communities and to establish social and economic conditions that will help us to become strong as a united people and sustain the responsibilities of freedom. The cry will be raised that this is defeatist mentality and that I advocate surrender. Of such clap-trap we have had more than enough. To give up an illusion is not surrender but wisdom, specially when that illusion leads us to leave the field free to Imperialism and those that thrive on it, to corruption and the full play of all anti-national forces. The confidence that if we seize opportunities and take up power and responsibility we can build up is not defeatism but the contrary of it. Subjection has developed diseases of all kinds and I firmly believe that they cannot be healed by merely remaining in the wilderness and allowing reaction to do full mischief. By all means, let us keep our arm and our inherent right to a revolution intact. Let us not be committed to a course that takes us away from the goal and the path leading to it. But let us not discard precious opportunities for building up.

We may not agree with many of the tactical methods of Rajaji, but we are in full agreement with the views he has expressed herein and we believe that with his masterly vision and control over expression he has thrown a flood of new light on this vexed problem. New vistas for those who desire to bring about an end of the communal scourge has at last been provided.

What Denial Policy Cost the People

There is no true opinion that the Bengal Government's Denial policy had been one of the primary causes of the last terrible famine and the pestilence that followed in its wake. The magnitude of the muddle and its cost in human life and suffering was already known, the cost in money has now been revealed in the report of the Public Accounts Committee of the Central Legislature on the Accounts of 1942-43. The Report has been signed by Messrs C. E.

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Jones, Raza Ali, Md. Azizul Haq, Ismail Ali Khan, A. M. A. Ghani, F. H. Paricha, T. Chapman-Mortimer, Habibur Rahaman, L. K. Maitra, H. M. Abdullah and Sir Ratanji Dalal. No accounts in respect of a sum of Rs. 1,22,00,000 purported to have been spent on account of the enforcement of Denial policy could be obtained from the Bengal Government. The Committee makes the following comment :

It is, however, the expenditure in Bengal on the Denial policy and other similar measures which has caused us the greatest misgiving. We understand that there has been great difficulty in getting any kind of accounts at all for this expenditure and such as have been produced do not satisfy the standards of Audit. We realise that the conditions under which this work was done were of the utmost urgency and abnormality. We also recognise that some confusion was only to be expected in the circumstances and we are willing to make all allowances for it. But we do not see any excuse whatever for such neglect of elementary financial precautions as we are told prevailed in this matter in Bengal and which is one of the causes for it now being difficult for any adequate accounts to be produced. All that we desire at present is that the Auditor General should investigate fully into the facts of the situation and which is now held in suspense. At the same time, however, we feel it our duty to place on record our view that if this further investigation reveals that the control of the Bengal Government was, through negligence, so lax as to give rise to serious doubts as to whether the money was actually spent on the purposes for which it was meant, we shall hold ourselves at liberty to recommend that the Central Government should not accept debits which do not satisfy the reasonable demands of Audit.

A few significant remarks of Sir Cameron Badenoch, made in the course of his evidence before the Public Accounts Committee, are still more significant. He said :

Sir Cameron Badenoch: That is not the total expenditure. Possibly from the nature of the expenditure it has been almost impossible to exercise any audit. These denial measures were carried out through the Bengal Government and I asked the Bengal Government to carry out investigation by a special officer. It was done in the case of one district. The whole thing has been done most unsatisfactorily. There is a good deal of more money than this under the Suspense Head. Eventually I got accounts of rice. They were not satisfactory accounts. There were discrepancies naturally because of the removal, but in connection with these means of transport—boats and cycles—it is a dreadful business.

Chairman: Against this figure of Rs. 1,22,00,000 have you any idea how much is kept in Suspense?

Sir Cameron Badenoch: I could not tell you how much. There is a terrific confusion between this and compensation for land required for air fields and so on. The total Suspense outstanding against Bengal was at one time over 3 crores, and I have had the greatest difficulty in getting accounts for . . . The trouble is we are in the hands of the Provincial Government and it is very difficult to repudiate what they did. Of course one has got to take into account the circumstances existing at that time. But the Public Accounts Committee laid down two or three years ago that no circumstances really justify the neglect of elementary financial precautions,—getting proper receipts for money and paying money only to authorised people. There are certain fundamental things which should never be neglected and these elementary precautions were not taken.

Chairman: I think strong comment is certainly called for by the Public Accounts Committee and we will ask the Auditor General to report for next year on the extent to which he had been able to straighten this out with reference to the Suspense heads relating to Denial policy in its various aspects.

The manner in which this huge amount was spent may better be told in the words of the Auditor-General himself. He said, "The trouble was that the Provincial Government issued an order to Treasury Officers under one of the Treasury Rules which allows them to disburse money from treasuries without any authorisation from the Accountant General and anybody who went to the Treasury was given some money." The Accountant General came and did his best to get some order but he failed. He has no control over the treasuries. Sir Cameron emphatically told the Committee: "I can say that lakhs and lakhs were issued from the Treasury to all sorts of people and now we are trying to get accounts for that and we are finding it exceedingly difficult."

The Problem of Asia

Roy's Weekly quotes an article by John Gunther on the problem of Asia. The author states that there can be no decent peace in the world, no global peace, unless Asia is considered. Problem of Asia splits into three, each a problem of vast and complex dimensions: Japan, China and India. Declaring that Japan, like Germany, must be beaten, disarmed and made incapable of waging further wars, Gunther puts the following question :

America and Great Britain are pledged to cut Japanese territory down to the home islands. This presumably means that we shall return Japanese-held territory to its original owners, with the Dutch, British and ourselves taking the Japanese-held Pacific islands.

But what of Japan's "Allies"—Indo-China, once held by France; Thailand, once an independent nation? There is no hint as yet as to the future disposition of these territories.

Gunther wants to be brutally frank about China. In his opinion, China at present is not a nation; "it is a vast sprawling amalgam that aspires to nationhood. Control is divided between the Central Government of Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese Communists, who have set up their own quasi-republic in the great Chinese north-west." Explaining American interest in China, he states :

China is the great land mass behind Japan. Victorious China will control the Asian mainland fronting on the Pacific. It will most emphatically be to our own selfish national interest that China shall be united, progressive, strong and stable. After all, the root cause of American entrance into the war was China. So it doubly behoves us to aid her to achieve a stake in keeping the future safe.

Gunther's statement about India is also equally frank. He says :

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The great bulk of nationalist Indians want complete independence after the war; most British statesmen think the most that should be given to India is dominion status. If no compromise can be whittled out, *India may explode into revolution, even though most Indians are unarmed, ill-equipped, poor and hungry.*

More and more Americans are becoming perplexed and worried over the Indian problem. They ask themselves:

"If this is indeed a war for freedom, and if the majority of Indians do indisputably want freedom, is it fair to keep freedom from the Indian nation?"

Thousands upon thousands of American officers and troops are getting to know India. It is to be hoped that that their opinion will lend its weight toward a fair settlement of what is beyond doubt one of the most difficult and dangerous problems of the world.

[Italics ours—Ed. *M. R.*]

Linlithgow Now a "Crusader for Freedom"

Lord Linlithgow has at last entered the arena of home politics. Appearing in the role of a "crusader for freedom." the ex-Viceroy revealed himself as a determined foe of the "dreary ordinance and oppressive governmental restrictions." In the course of a letter to the *Daily Telegraph*, after hinting that the Party truce has not been observed by Liberals and Labourites as religiously as by the Conservatives. Linlithgow writes:

"Controls, coupons, queues, forms-filling and endless irritations of bureaucratic meddling, the virtual disappearance of private liberty and personal initiative—these constitute the principal and inescapable attributes of Socialism. I shall be surprised if any considerable proportion of the electorate, which for five years has had to endure such a punishing sample of these dreary ordinances and inhibitions, is found ready to receive with enthusiasm the invitation to bind the whole clammy mass of them round our necks for ever."

Four hundred million people of India, who groaned under Linlithgow's long term of Viceroyalty smarting under controls, unable to secure coupons, standing for days together in queues for a handful of rice or a quarter pound of sugar, suffering the endless irritations of a bureaucratic meddling, with a complete disappearance of private liberty and personal initiative, dying of hunger in millions and suffering from pestilence in hundreds of thousands, may well ask in the words of Cobbet: "To what shall we impute your remarks? To drivelling or to hypocrisy?"

Replying to Linlithgow in an article to the *Daily Herald*, Michael Foot cites the case of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in support of this judgment. He writes:

Among the thousands of political prisoners now in Indian jails is an old friend of freedom and a long-standing enemy of Fascism called Jawaharlal Nehru. British Labour movement knows him well. In the intervals between imprisonments during the past 25 years he has visited this country and we have learnt to respect and honour him.

If Nehru is a traitor then Treachery like Liberty is a word which has lost its meaning. Not all the Viceroy's ordinances, not all his lugubrious sophistries and plausible pretences, not all the answers in the House of Commons can convince us that Nehru is an enemy of Free India. Why then is he behind bars?

Because he wishes to help govern his own country and because his ideas for gaining that end do not precisely accord with the immaculate legal maxims of the Scottish Laird; he is there because he doesn't like foreign rule even when tempered by Linlithgow's quality of mercy; he is there because he has a brave heart, and an independent spirit. *These are not crimes in our catalogue.* But we suspect that Linlithgow, who has made justice retrospective, has a taste for applying the same principles to other matters besides.

Michael Foot's brief but trenchant review of Linlithgow's Viceroyalty covers such topics as the postponement of elections, extension of bureaucracy, ordinances, etc. He writes: "For seven long years he was at it, but if censorship between Britain and India is less severe than that which he instituted between India and Britain and his words in praise of liberty ever reach Indian ears they are likely to strike a somewhat jarring note." Foot then reminds the British public of Lincoln's famous words: "We all declare for liberty but in using the same word we don't all mean the same thing. . . .The wolf and the sheep aren't agreed on the definition, especially where the sheep is a black one," and concludes: "It was unfortunate that we sent to India not a Lincoln but a Linlithgow. Happily the episode is over, but at least until Nehru is free. we might be spared his lordly wolfish homilies on liberty."

A Nagpur Judgment

Delivering judgment in the contempt of court case filed by B. N. Saoji against Syed Masumali, Superintendent, Nagpur Central Jail, for failure to forward his application to the High Court while he was detained in the Nagpur Central Jail, Mr. Justice Sen and Mr. Justice Bose made severe comments on the actions of the Jail Superintendent. In the same application for contempt of court proceedings the High Court had already censured Lt.-Col. N. S. Jatar, Inspector-General of Prisons. The learned Judges observed:

"We have been treated with scant courtesy and statements offensive in tone and temper and reckless in its disregard for truth have been put in after careful deliberation and thought. It is impossible for us to overlook this persistent aggravation of the contempt. It is all the more impossible because of the tendency we have marked of late in more cases than one of attempts to ignore the authority of this Court to trifle with it. It is necessary to make an example. Leniency has been misunderstood in the past and will therefore be misplaced. Forbearance and patience only evoke worse and worse recklessness. We accordingly sentence the Jail Superintendent to a fine of Rs. 250 or in default 14 days' S. I.

We refrain from taking a more severe action and from imposing a sentence of imprisonment because it is evident that the man in the Superintendent's position would hardly have adopted this wholly wrong attitude

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had he not been encouraged in it tacitly or otherwise by those in authority. We trust that this will serve as a warning and an example."

It should be remembered that this flouting of justice happened in a province where no Indian scapegoats function for the present. The province is now under the dictatorial administration of a British Civilian Governor.

Import of Consumer Goods

Replying to a series of questions, put by Mr. K. C. Neogy in the Central Legislative Assembly, about the import of consumer goods the Commerce Member said that

Certain trade organisations representing Indian manufactures had represented that the import of consumer good was likely to have an adverse effect on Indian industries especially those which had been created since the war to make good the shortages in imported consumer goods, owing to the higher cost of the Indian made articles. The suggestion had been that Indian industries were hampered in meeting such competition owing to the difficulty of obtaining raw materials. Government, however, imported consumer goods only when it was established on the basis of information received from trade sources and the Government departments concerned that even after the grant of all possible assistance adequate supplies could not be indigenously manufactured to meet the immediate need.

Neither Government nor the trade associations concerned nor any other body possessed complete statistics of the production of indigenous industries, the Commerce Member added. Government made full use of all information available with trade associations and other bodies regarding the desirability of Indian industry which was assisted in every way open to the Government of India having regard to the difficulties of transport, fuel and similar shortages and the overriding priority accorded to defence projects. Factories established in India by non-Indian manufacturers received the same degree of assistance as other industries. Requests for export of their goods were dealt with on the same lines as requests from other industries.

In reply to a supplementary the Commerce Member declared that there was no chance in present conditions of a dumping of consumer goods in this country or a disturbance of the price structure of the consumer goods manufactured here. Government of India's step-motherly attitude to Indian industries together with their eagerness to import consumer goods from abroad at a time when shipping space for the import of food is not easily available, supports an apprehension that although dumping may not be started *in the present conditions*, its appearance in the near future may not be unlikely.

Another fact deserves special mention in this connection. *Commerce*, Bombay, reports that President Roosevelt and his advisers are discussing with the British delegation, headed by Lord Keynes, a supplemental second phase Lend-Lease proposal made by Premier Churchill to the President at the Quebec Conference, which, if agreed to, will permit the United Kingdom to acquire at least $2,500 million worth of *non-military* supplies for re-sale in its export trade.

Plan to Divide the World Between U. S. A. and U. K.

Sir Chunilal Mehta, Chairman of the Indian group of businessmen attending the International Business Conference at Rye, U. S. A., challenged the British-American proposal to peg world currencies to the British-American standard after the ratio had been determined between these two. Sir Chunilal said :

"We will be leaving each individual nation to the mercy of either the United States or the United Kingdom and that would amount to dividing the world between two great nations." He said that British manipulation of currency during the war had cost Indians dearly. The accumulation of sterling balance by India had been through the sweat, blood, toil and tears of the Indian people. The purchases in India by the Government of India for war purposes and on behalf of the British Government and the United Nations for war effort had been made at very low prices compared with the prices at which the supplies were available to the civilian population in India. Had the Government of India paid for the material and goods purchased for the war effort on the basis of the cost of living in India, the accumulation of sterling by India would have been about three milliard instead one milliard pounds as at present. It was a known fact that millions died of starvation in Bengal last year and no more proof was necessary to indicate the privations the sacrificing Indian people had undergone during the war period.

Sir Chunilal protested against any attempt to maintain the rupee at the high gold ratio and said that the liquidation of India's blocked sterling balances must be considered by the conference.

Sir Chunilal's statement followed statements made by Mr. G. L. Mehta and Mr. A. R. Siddiqui who emphatically declared that any attempt to stifle Indian industries by the formation of international cartels would be resisted. As regards raw materials and foodstuff, the Indian delegation has put forward the view that no international arrangements for equal access to raw materials would be acceptable to India which would preclude India's own industrial development and would involve uneconomic prices for its agricultural products.

Mr. Eric A. Johnston, President of the United States Chamber of Commerce, presiding over the opening session of the conference had said : "The world of to-morrow must not be restricted to a world of high walls, high suspicions and high animosities. We tried that system and it does not work. It will be a world of competition to be sure but this competition must be constructive, not destructive. The world will never prosper if its commerce is dominated by a few great nations." These are good words indeed, but subsequent reports about the conference indicate that this well-meaning presidential address has been duly recorded and shelved and plans for an economic exploitation

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of the post-war world jointly by the U.S.A. and U.K. are in preparation.

Rupee Ratio Revision

A special cable from London to the *Indian Finance* is responsible for the news that Lord Catto may soon be under fire over the question of a revision of the rupee-sterling ratio. The following is a summary of the cable :

Now he is Governor of the Bank of England, but from June 1940 to April 1944 he was Financial Adviser to the British Treasury. Hence there is a disposition to hold him largely responsible for the policy which, as the end of war approaches, leaves Britain saddled with huge sterling indebtedness to India and such Middle-eastern countries as Egypt, Iraq, Palestine, Persia and Syria.

The gist of the rising complaint is, firstly, that Britain could have greatly reduced this colossal commercial indebtedness if she had promptly concluded Lend-Lease arrangements, especially, with India. Secondly, she need not have maintained the pre-war relationship between sterling and the currencies of these countries.

It is argued that the currencies of all these countries became heavily inflated and the Treasury pretence that they are still at pre-war parity with sterling was a costly and inexcusable myth.

The money market editor of the Financial News suggests that if the prices of goods in India and Britain are compared, then, the real foreign exchange value of the rupee would have been about six pence instead of 1 shilling 6 pence. Its maintenance at an artificially high rate has resulted in India being credited with something like three times as much sterling as she should have been.

The Financial News contends that Eastern countries would not have suffered any unfair disadvantage if foreign exchange rates had been adjusted. "They would merely have been deprived of entirely unjustified war profits which they have gained by this for the revision of the amount is on balances owned by Governments and Central Banks. The holders should be *persuaded to agree to a scaling down of these claims sufficiently to cancel unearned surpluses* arising from artificial exchange rates."

This last sentence may or may not foreshadow a change in official policy regarding unwieldy sterling balances now owed to overseas owners.

Signs are already multiplying that debtor Britain's financial experts are racking their brains to find a way out so that the sterling balances may be wiped out by a book adjustment instead of a transfer of wealth to the creditor countries. The *Financial Times* foreshadows a scheme which will completely fritter away India's balances held in London. Government of India have no dearth of henchmen who would gladly be "pursuaded to agree," in the name of India, to a scaling down of these claims sufficient to cancel "unearned surpluses" arising from "artificial" exchange rates. Legislation with retrospective effect is a common practice to-day.

Food Problem and Rehabilitation in Bengal

The debate in food in the Central Legislative Assembly has proved the untenability of the fling Mr. R. G. Casey, Governor of Bengal, made the other day at "persons of public standing and influence" outside Bengal, who, in his opinion, made statements of "most doubtful validity" on Bengal's food situation after "short visits" to "limited areas." Food problem in Bengal was trenchantly criticised in the Assembly by persons of long public standing and influence who cannot certainly be called "outsiders." The strongest critics of the Bengal food position, namely, Mr. K. C. Neogy, Mrs. Renuka Ray, Sir A. H. Ghuznavi, Mr. A. C. Datta and Mr. A. N. Chattopadhyaya are all Bengalees and Mr. T. J. Griffiths spent the best part of his official career in Bengal. They have all made it abundantly clear that even after a year of the deadly famine, problems of food supply, food prices, procurement of food malnutrition, adulteration of food and pestilence following the famine—all continue unchecked. Rehabilitation of famine victims still remains a myth.

Speaking on the problems of rehabilitation and pestilence, Mr. Neogy said :

According to calculations, Mr. Neogy said, 1,300,000 people lost their lives from hunger in Bengal last year. He added that in his broadcast six weeks ago, Mr. Casey stated that 275,000 were on the dole, but they knew that if 275,000 were on the dole, very many more were starving.

The Governor also mentioned that malaria had unfortunately re-appeared in epidemic form. But Dr. B. C. Ray had characterized it as wholly inaccurate to say that malaria had re-appeared. It was there all along. At least 40 per cent of the people in the province were stricken by this disease.

Mr. Neogy contended that during the first five months of the year 2,559,000 were treated in hospitals. He emphasized this was only the figure of persons who went to hospital and one could judge from it how many more people were silently suffering and perhaps dying without any treatment. The Public Health Minister had stated that so long as people were not supplied with nutritious food it would not be possible to solve the problem of malaria successfully. The situation in Bengal, he said, was very grave indeed.

Mrs. Renuka Ray also spoke about her own experience in the matter :

Mrs. Renuka Ray said that she recently toured the interior of Bengal. In many villages she found men, women and children utterly destitute. They were not the proverbial beggars but people who only two years ago owned homesteads but today they were wandering from village to village starving. Many families in the villages sold their daughters to get food. Death from starvation had no doubt now declined but malnutrition was taking a heavy toll.

She referred to the very acute shortage of milk in the country and demanded that a complete ban be put on the slaughter of cattle. She said that in the U. K. Government paid a subsidy of £117,000,000 for the supply of free and cheap milk to children. She urged the Government of India to give generous subsidies for the supply of milk.

The Medical Poll Taken by the Calcutta Relief Committee

We give here the substance of the experiences of qualified medical men in Calcutta

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of the quality of foodstuff supplied through ration shops and its results on public health. In September last, on behalf of the Calcutta Relief Committee, its President Dr. Bidhan Chandra Ray appealed to practising medical men to supply him with facts gleaned from his field of practice for the preparation of collected scientific data to ascertain the mischief done to public health through the consumption of bad quality ration supply. Replies were received from practising medical men, including some of the foremost physicians of the city, from the following wards: Wards 1-6, 8, 10-14, 16, 18-23, 25, 27, 28, 30, 31, *i.e.*, from 24 out of the 32 wards. Seven questions were put, the results of which are summarised against each question put. All the replies were in the affirmative, not a single reply in favour of the ration supply was received. The following are the summary of replies from all the wards :

Q. 1. Have you observed any particular deterioration in the health of the people in your locality or among your clientele since the introduction of rationing in the city? Please state specially the nature of such deterioration and to what extent it could be traced to the type of food that is being distributed.

Reply: Yes, Deterioration of digestive capacity, loss of weight, susceptibility to infection, diarrhoea, gastritis, indigestion, mucous colitis, dysentery and other intestinal troubles, difficulty in eradicating protozoal infection, incapacity of a progressive nature.

Q. 2. Making due allowance for seasonal aggravation of intestinal troubles have you any reason to believe that there has been any unusual increase in the number of cases complaining of stomach and intestinal troubles?

Reply: Yes.

Q. 3. Have you heard your patients to attribute such troubles to the bad quality supply of rice or atta? Does your diagnosis of the cases confirm the contention of the patients?

Reply: Yes.

4. Do you really believe that, there has been an unusual increase in the incidence of diarrhoea, dyspepsia, dysentery and various other kinds of bowel complaints in recent months which could be definitely attributed to bad supply of rice and atta?

Reply: Yes.

Q. 5. Have you any other points to mention regarding the health of the community in Calcutta since the introduction of rationing in Calcutta?

Reply: General look sallow, unusual hyper-acidity, increase in infant and maternal mortality, causing dysphagia, general deterioration, malnutrition and anaemia, epidemic dropsy and jaundice, natural resistance losing.

Q. 6. Do you believe that 90 per cent families in the city are suffering from chronic malnutrition and under-fed condition owing to abnormal rise in the price of vegetable, fish, egg, meat; milk, ghee; salt and oil?

Reply: Yes, according to some percentage higher.

Q. 7. Owing to universal sabotage of the health-soil of the province—do you apprehend a greater incidence of sickness among your clientele? Do you think any epidemic as the influenza of 1918 may visit us?

Reply: Yes.

Some of the remarks made in conclusion of their replies are given below :

An eminent physician from Ward 11 writes:

(1) Sometime back I received from the Government Rationing Store of my area a supply of *atta*, which seemed to be decomposed and contained worms. I sent a sample to the Calcutta Corporation Health Officer who declared it "unsuitable for human consumption." I forwarded a copy of that letter to the Rationing authorities, when they asked me to write to the Technical Adviser of the Department. On enquiry I learnt that the so-called Technical Adviser was not a scientific man but a loaned employee of the Bata Shoe Co. Ltd., who has been employed for advising on distribution. Some months ago, the Sanitary Board, Government of Bengal, drew the attention of the Civil Supplies Department to the necessity of chemical and bacteriological examination of foodstuffs before they were issued to the consumers. On the above occasion, I drew the attention of the Secretary, Public Health and Local Self-Government Department, Government of Bengal, but I have not had any information whether the advice has been put into practice.

(2) It is well-known that there is no technical background in the storage methods of the Government. The present supplies of *atta* are often bitter to the taste and frequently causes griping in the individuals consuming it. Supplies of rice have slightly improved in quality, but pulses are still of inferior quality. Adulteration is being widely practised but there is no agency to examine and check it. There is no doubt of a quantitative shortage of food but of a great qualitative deficiency also. This is bound to react unfavourably on public health. If you study the present mortality figures in Calcutta, you will notice an enormous increase in deaths from preventible diseases, particularly in the poorer groups and in the earlier age periods. Their adverse influence is bound to undermine the health of the population. If no effective and prompt steps are taken, I am afraid the situation is likely to go from bad to worse. To my mind, the Government organisatoin is technically incompetent to manage a situation, unless and until the whole organisation is overhauled and science is brought to the aid of man.

Sangli State Peoples' Conference

Mr. Madhavrao K. Bagal, Chairman of the Kolhapur States People's Conference, presiding over the eighteenth session of the Sangli States Peoples' Conference, observed :

"We cannot separate the States from united and indivisible India, and India from the world. We cannot, therefore, remain aloof from the great organisation in British India, *i.e.*, the Indian National Congress. Efforts on the part of the States' subjects to attain freedom by depending only on the organisations in the States are bound to suffer defeat. By co-operating with the Congress alone we would be able to liberate our Nation. As a beginning in this direction the Deccan States must organise both for constructive and political programme."

Concluding Mr. Bagal said : "The Praja Parishad must not become a parliament of a few chosen persons. It must go deep into the hearts of the masses, awaken them and be ready as a fighting body for the poor. It must level all distinctions."

Political movements in the native states is a matter of very recent origin. Barring a few progressive ones, most of the states are still in

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their semi-primitive feudal condition. Great care had so long been taken both by these states and by the representatives of the paramount power to prevent any percolation of modern political ideas within their borders. The continual increase in the number of State Peoples' Conferences unmistakably show that all attempts to cordon the states off from any invasion of modern ideas have been unsuccessful. The sooner these organisations link up with the premier political body of India, the better for the country.

Indo-Soviet Trade Plans

A *Globe* agency message from London states that preliminary negotiations are proceeding for the establishment of closer economic relations between India and Soviet Russia.

Following developments since the war began, there is now passing a steady flow of all kinds of materials from India to Russia and it is being urged that the foundations thus laid should make for permanent interchange of goods and raw materials.

Extension of rail and road facilities, specially *via* Persia, and the possibilities of the development of an air transport in the not distant future, have overcome communications difficulties which impeded Indo-Soviet trade exchanges before this war.

Road Development in India

New Delhi, Nov. 11 : The proposed creation of a Central Road Board was among the questions discussed by the Standing Committee for Roads which met in New Delhi under the Chairmanship of Sir Edward Benthall today. A conference of the Chief Engineers of Provinces and States held in Nagpur in December last had recommended the setting up of a Central Road Board with adequate authority and powers, guided by an Advisory Council, to deal with the detailed policy and day-to-day administration of road planning and programme, and to serve impartially the interests of the Central Provincial and State Governments. The consensus of opinion in the Standing Committee was in favour of the general idea but the Committee desired that more progress should be made in consultation with the Provincial Governments concerning the scope and nature of the organisation before they pronounced an opinion. The matter, it is understood, will also be considered by the Policy Committee for post-war transport.

The Standing Committee approved a number of schemes of road development to be financed from Provincial allocations in the Central Road Fund.

Before this war, road development in India had been completely neglected. Little construction was taken in hand while large sums accumulated in the Central Road Fund. Instead of launching a road development plan, which, if scientifically done, would have opened up the hinterland by providing feeder roads to railways, the central authorities were busy stifling the road traffic in the interest of the railways. Provincial governments also betrayed an equally lamentable lack of foresight. With the same administration in office, it is difficult to believe that things would change for the better.

Indian Scientists Address M. P's.

The London correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* cables that the Indian scientists addressed the members of the House of Commons when they visited the House. The attendance was however not very good. All of them addressed the gathering which was much impressed by Dr. Meghnad Saha who gave the latest information about India.

All of them stated that India was a very poor country but they asserted that she was rich in mineral resources which can and must be exploited. They had no doubt that if that was done, India would become, to a very large extent, a self-supporting country. They were convinced that to do that it was necessary for India to have complete political and economic freedom, and national freedom, therefore, had become the most vital and urgent problem for India.

Grow More Food Campaign

Mr. J. D. Tyson, Secretary, Education, Health and Lands, gave figures in the Central Legislative Assembly "to refute the criticism that the grow more food campaign had been a complete failure." He said :

The average area under rice in India in the three pre-war years was 73·8 million acres. After one year of the grow more food campaign the area increased to 75 million and last year it was practically 80 million acres. At the present moment the indications were that this area would be fully maintained if not increased. The pre-war average of the area under all foodgrains was 195 million acres; after one year of the grow more food campaign it was 204·5 million acres and last year it was 206·3 million acres.

Proceeding to give figures of production of Foodgrains, Mr. Tyson said that under rice the three-year pre-war average was 26·5 million tons. In the first year of the grow more food campaign it was 24·8 million tons; in spite of the increase in the area, a decrease in production had occurred because of natural causes. Last year the production was 30·6 million tons. This meant an increase of 4 million tons represneting twice the quantity that we used to import from Burma. The production of all foodgrains increased from the pre-war average of 55·5 million tons to 57·5 million tons one year after the grow more food campaign and 61 million tons last year.

Mr. Tyson explained the help that the Centre had given to the provinces in the distribution of seeds, extension of irrigation excavating tanks, digging wells, and so on. As regards the epidemic situation in Bengal, he said there had been improvement since the last session. The cholera mortality in January was 3,000 a week had declined to 700 in April and 232 in October.

Mr. Tyson was clever enough to talk of huge figures in millions of tons but did not give the percentages. From his data it appears that after one year of campaign area under rice increased barely by 2 per cent with the produc-

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tion was less than the previous years. For the present year, he claimed some 6 per cent increase in area with barely 10 per cent increase in production.

The grow more food campaigns in England and Ireland may be profitably compared with the Government of India's campaign. The data have been supplied by the League of Nations' study on *Food Rationing and Supply in 1943-44*. The following is a summary made by the *Indian Finance* :

Before the war it is well-known that two-thirds of the British food supply was imported. By 1943 over two-thirds of the national requirements was grown at home and the League report further says "the national diet has become less varied but had been but little reduced in terms of calories per head, and from a nutritional standpoint, had been improved." Great Britain could increase the total area devoted to foodgrains from 4 million acres in 1939 to 7·6 million acres in 1943. 4½ million acres have been improved under Britain's draining programme. Figures for 1943 reveal that the area under wheat alone was raised by 35·6 per cent to nearly 70 per cent over the pre-war level. With the labour force remaining more or less the same as before the war, production was nearly doubled owing to planned intensive farming and by increased mechanisation.

Ireland, a country with a small reserve, tackled her food problem with equal efficiency. Irish farmers were obliged to keep a minimum proportion under the plough and this was raised from 12½ per cent to 20 per cent in 1942, 25 per cent in 1943 and 37½ per cent in 1944.

Irrigation in India

Addressing the Institution of Engineers, India, at New Delhi, Sir William Stampe, Irrigation Adviser to the Government of India, outlined a post-war plan of irrigation and hydro-electric development which he considered 'vital to the relief of India's scarcity.' Sir William said :

By means of new irrigation (aided by artificial fertilizers) and improved methods of agriculture, India had to grow seven million tons of additional foodgrains to nourish the five million who were born every year and to raise the standard of nutrition. He fixed the irrigation target as five million tons of foodgrains yearly and estimated that to achieve this 20 million acres should be brought under irrigation.

Discussing the various methods of expanding irrigation, Sir William Stampe said that storage reservoirs might be constructed in the river catchments to conserve the surplus monsoon water which could be released at suitable times. This would 'stabilise' the canals fed by the rivers concerned and the canal power stations could be operated at full capacity throughout the year. Not only would this cheap power directly increase prosperity through irrigation but it could foster the development of village industries thus raising the rural standard of living and providing employment.

Sir William Stampe emphasised the need for adequate training facilities in India, especially in regard to the advanced design of modern hydro-electric works and transmission systems. Whilst he welcomed the suggestion to establish a large college in Southern India, he recommended that a number of federal colleges should be founded where civil and electrical engineers, who would have to execute these projects, could be trained together.

But the problems of irrigation are not the same for all the provinces. A scheme suitable for the Panjab or Sind may be completely useless for Bengal. The irrigational needs of Bengal were clearly stated by Sir William Willcocks, the builder of the great Nile irrigation works, in a series of Readership Lectures delivered at the Calcutta University in 1930. He said :

That the "overflow irrigation" of the ancient Bengal rulers is the only one adapted to Bengal is amply borne out by what has happened in the last 70 years. The Irrigation Department has tried its hand at every kind of project it could imagine except "overflow irrigation." The resulting poverty of soil, congestion of rivers, and malaria, have stalked the canals nd banks, and the country is streun today with the wrecks of useless and harmful works. This has been aggravated by the fact that such works should have been executed by engineers, agriculturists and public health authorities working in accord, and there has been no attempt at working in accord. Overflow irrigation with the muddy waters of the river floods is the only kind of irrigation on which engineers, agriculturists, and public health authorities can be in absolute accord, for it enriches the soil, combats malaria and relieves the congestion of the rivers in flood. We may be quite cure that the ancient irrigators of Bengal did not hit upon it at once, but adopted it after trials and experiments lasting over many years. And we may rest assured, after seeing the results of seventy years of abandonments of it, that there is nothing before the country but to return to it.

The overflow irrigation of Central and Western Bengal, which at one time poured health and wealth over an area of 7,000,000 to 10,000,000 acres of land, is represented in the last published Report of the Bengal Irrigation Department, *viz.*, that of 1927, by an area of under 2,000,000 acres.

Gag on Indian Journalists

Hannen Swaffer writes in the *Daily Herald*, about the censorship in India under the caption *Gagged Men* :

'Gag on news in India has now spread even to gag on private conversation about censorship by Indian journalists in London.

'Not only is it true unless printing of this sentence suddenly alters this rule—that words written in this column, vital as is their interest to that dependency, will never reach India. It is also true that if reprinting of these paragraphs when cabled is stopped in India, Indian newspapermen who send them must not even discuss the fact when they meet, say, in the Ministry of Information, nor can they tell any British journalist about it.

Swaffer then puts the question: "How if such Hitler-like suppression goes on can Britain and India ever understand each other ?" Authorities in London and New Delhi do not seem to be warm about the prospect of a development of genuine understanding between the two countries.

Communalism in Education

The *Sylhet Chronicle* quotes an extract from an article, under caption *Educational Reorganisation of Assam*, by Mr. G. A. Small, ex-

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D.P.I. of Assam, in which Mr. Small makes the following observation regarding communalisation of education in that province :

"What Pakistan means to a Hindu minority has been clearly shown by successive Saadulla Government. The teachers in our college—Lecturers or Professors—should be the best men available ; but since 1941, when I retired as a protest against the policy of Government, out of 20 appointments in the Assam Educational Service. 9 have been given to Moslems with only 2nd class M. A. degrees, and they included appointments in History, Mathematics, Economics and Civics, in all of which subjects, numbers of first class men are available.

"The damage done to Education in Assam by the appointment of inferior men throughout the department from the highest posts to the lowest will take generations to repair."

Corruption of education by permitting recruitment of men on communal considerations with much less educational qualifications continues uninterrupted as part of a well-planned policy of denial of education.

Unity Amidst Diversity—the Goal of Indian Culture

Presiding over the Punjab Hindu Conference held at Ludhiana, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee struck at the fundamental note of our culture when he reminded his audience that the achievement of unity amidst diversity is the goal of Indian civilisation. Whenever Tagore had occasion to speak or write on the history of India, it was this note which he brought out in bold relief. History of India has never been a chronology of the dynasties and the dynastic wars alone, it is the history of the masses and the common man of a social system which ensured him a life of sufficiency. The veil round the history of India wrapped by British writers has now been torn down by the Indian schools and our own civilisation stands unfurled to us to-day against its proper mass sitting. Dr. Mookerjee said :

"I do not ignore that Hindu-Muslim differences are a reality. I do not forget that though no doubt foreign rule has helped to accentuate them, they have not appeared on the Indian scene for the first time since the advent of the British. India according to her tradition and history has remained the home of followers of diverse religions, faiths and creeds all ultimately being assimilated in the mighty stream of Indian culture and civilisation. This unity amidst diversity has been the keynote of Indian civilisation. Indian history gives us many examples of unique achievements in art, literature, religion, social and political advance when unity was the dominant note of Indian life.

"Today the communal problem in India can be solved only if the representative of each community genuinely agree to extend an equal right of citizenship to one and all irrespective of any religious or other consideration. The constitution of the country must guarantee full protection to the religious and cultural rights of the minorities. If any particular minority is backward, there must be ample provision for the educational and economic advancement of the people concerned. This advancement is necessary not only for the sake of the affected people but also for strengthening and broadening the base of India's social economic and political structure.

Discussing present-day realities, Dr. Mookerjee said:

"Today India's first and foremost claim is for her political independence. We want nothing more or nothing less than that we should live in our own country breathing the air of freedom just as Englishmen claim to do in their own native land. Neither education of the right type nor her economic and industrial expansion consistent with the welfare of the masses is possible unless real political power vests in the people themselves. At every step we witness an irreconcilable clash of interest between India and her rulers, who know well the art of forging fresh fetters for continuing our economic exploitation.

A Victim of a Catch Phrase

In a meeting arranged for him by the British Association in London, Prof. Meghnad Saha made a statement that Indian leaders had so far concentrated on political freedom and neglected the problem of the living of India's millions. Economic problems have occupied almost as much attention as what may be called exclusively political questions since the beginning of the last century when Raja Rammohun Roy explained to the British people and the world, the causes of poverty of the Indian ryot and suggested remedies. Since then, the Bharat Sabha and the Hindu Mela movements had their economic problem as one of the main planks on their platform. From the birth of the Indian National Congress, economic problems have always been kept on the forefront. But the leaders of these movements fully realised that without freedom, a real and lasting solution of economic problems is impossible. In a dependent country, economic advancement can never be made without having complete control over the currency, exchange rates, transport and the industrial policy with the right to discriminate between foreigners both outside and inside this country. The welfare of the common man fully depends on how and in whose interest such controls are exercised. The Congress leaders realised these fundamental difficulties in the way of our economic improvement. That concentration on political movement did not mean a forgetfulness of economic difficulties has been amply demonstrated by the Congress which set up a National Planning Committee as soon as some semblance of political power came into their hands. Even the interim reports of some sub-committees were being given effect to by the Congress Ministries. The work of the A.I.V.I.A. and the A.I.S.A. should not be neglected.

Phillips' Letter

Drew Pearson has published Ambassador Phillips' Letter to President Roosevelt from

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India in the spring of 1943. In it, Mr. Phillips no doubt gives an able summary of the Indian political situation but his conclusions will not be accepted to many in this country. He has rightly imagined that "the Viceroy and Mr. Churchill are well satisfied to let the deadlock remain as long as possible," but from his following words it seems that he has not yet gone to the root of British policy in India. He writes :

> The problem, therefore, is : Can anything be done to break this deadlock through our help ? It seems to me that all we can do is to try to induce the Indian political leaders to meet together and discuss the form of Government which they regard as applicable to India and thus show to the world that they have sufficient intelligence to tackle the problem.

Even if the Indian leaders met together and evolved an agreed constitution, a Jinnah or an Ambedkar would soon be found to sound his master's voice and disagree from the general formula. The British Government and their branch here would at once be loud to proclaim that "powerful elements in India's national life" have not agreed on the common formula and for the sake of justice to these minorities Britain must stay in India. The Lucknow All-Parties Conference and the Round Table Conferences are past history no doubt but they have not been forgotten.

Mr. Phillips' suggested solution therefore stands on false grounds. His formula is :

> "We cannot suppose the British Government can or will transfer power to India by the scratch of the pen at the conclusion of the peace conference unless there is an Indian Government fit to receive it. The question remains, therefore, how to induce the leaders to begin now to prepare for their future responsibilities. There is perhaps a way out of the deadlock which I suggest to you not because I am sure of its success but because I think it is worthy of your consideration. With the approval and blessing of the British Government an invitation could be addressed to top leaders of all the Indian political groups on behalf of the President of United States to meet together to discuss plans for the future. The assembly could be presided over by an American who could exercise his influence in harmonizing the divisions of caste, religion, race and political views. The conference might well be under the patronage of the King Emperor, and the President of the United States, the President of the Soviet Union and Marshal Chiang Kai-shek in order to bring pressure to bear on the Indian politicians. Upon the issuance of invitations the King Emperor could give a fresh assurance of the British Government to transfer power to India, upon certain date as well as his desire to grant a provisional setup for the duration. The conference could be held in any city in India except Delhi.
>
> "American chairmanship would have the advantage not only of expressing interest of America in the future independence of India, but would also be a guarantee to Indians of British offer of independence. This is an important point because as I have already said in my previous letters that British promises in this regard are no longer believed."

When America secured her independence by fighting with the British, there was no Government there "fit to receive it." Similarly Canada obtained virtual independence in the form of Dominion Status when that country was ridden with internal dissensions and there was no Government there "fit to receive" political power. In Ireland, representatives of the British Government signed the Treaty together with the leaders of the revolution instead of any Government "fit to receive" power. The Indian National Congress has made it abundantly clear that the future constitution would be drawn by a constituent Assembly elected by adult suffrage and consisting of all the elements of Indian national life and complete arrangements for the safeguard of minority rights would be made. The Congress went so far as to declare that International arbitration would be sought if no agreement could be reached to solve the minority problem. Congress never said that the future constitution would be drafted by the majority, they always wanted an *agreed* document. Mr. Phillips wants the four Powers to bring pressure for the solution of the Indian constitutional problem, but has made a fundamental mistake as to the direction of this pressure when he says that it should be brought upon the Indian politicians. If pressure is sought to be applied, it should be on the British, and not on the Indian politicians. The suggestion for an American chairman to preside over the constituent Assembly is also equally fallacious. India has so far had little cause to be encouraged about any active sympathy of America for her independence.

India knows that independence does not come through donature, it has to be earned at the cost of sacrifices.

Anti-Indian Propaganda Among British School Boys

The *New Leader* of London reveals the nefarious methods pursued by imperialists to poison the minds of impressionable British boys against India. The journal says that lectures are being delivered to British boys of 14 and 15 in secondary schools in many parts of Britain urging the boys to consider the Army as a career, especially in India, where "but for the presence of the British Army in peace time the clash of numerous religions would lead to instability and suffering for the native masses." The boys are thus taught that Indians are uncivilised people, who would be at one another's throats, if British soldiers were not there to keep them in order. There is nothing astonishing in this latest activity of the Imperialists, but this downfall of a country which produced a Wilberforce, a Howard and a Gladstone will be universally regretted in India.

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THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

THE tempo of the Allied assault on the German defences in the West has mounted to a crescendo within the last fortnight of November. Gigantic masses of armour are being hurled against selected points after some of the biggest concentrations of artillery in history have battered the ground defences with an avalanche of steel and high explosive. In the approaches to German territory from Holland and the Low-countries, there has been some of the severest hand-to-hand fighting in this war. Aerial bombardment and strafing has also reached a new height in this period. Substantial gains have been achieved in the south, but in the centre and the north the progress has been slow. Inclement weather, difficult terrain, formidable ground defences and extremely fierce opposition from the defenders all have militated against the attack. But despite all the assault still proceeds with all the violence of an assault-en-masse on the Continental scale. Losses must have been severe on both sides in this slow moving but tremendously intense assault but as yet neither side shows any sign of flagging energy. The main German defence line of the West-wall has yet to be contacted anywhere, and in the central and southern sectors the reversed defences of the Maginot Line have not as yet been breached right through at any point, though contact and penetration has been effected at several points in the south.

On the East-European front the momentum of the Russian assault has slackened in the North, in the East-Prussian sector and in Poland. There is a new flare-up in Czecho-Slovak-Hungarian border and on the Carpathian flanks. There also the grip of winter is slowing down the pace of the assault. In Hungary itself the position is somewhat complex, the Russian drive being seemingly held up in the approaches to Budapest. Advance units of the Soviet forces were reported to have reached points within 10 miles of Budapest on November 16. The fall of the capital of Hungary was regarded as imminent then but evidently German and Hungarian counter-attacks and other defensive tactics were successful in holding up the Russian advance. Broadly speaking the German defences have held in East-Prussia and Poland, given ground in the Gulf of Riga region and on the Czecho-Slovak and Hungarian border-lands and substantially driven back in Hungary. But the line is still intact and no substantial gaps have been torn out of it anywhere. The war in the Balkans is now more or less of a minor nature though contact seems to have been maintained with the slowly retreating German forces and occasional thrusts into their lines are also reported from time to time.

In Italy the Allied progress is slow now, though there has not been any slackening of the pressure. Throughout the campaign in Italy the Germans have made very skilful use of difficult terrain, which has proved to be a very severe handicap on the attackers. The recent gains by the Allies near Faenza hold out hopes of the termination of this difficulty as the plains are near, which would permit the use of mechanized units on a bigger scale. The opposition has not slackened its efforts though and some time may possibly elapse before a large-scale retreat takes place. Here also, as elsewhere, wintry conditions are adding to the difficulties of the campaign and may add to the delay in the progress of the attackers.

The year is thus coming to a close with the war in Europe gradually taking the shape of a static war of attrition. Mr. Churchill's latest declaration seems to indicate that he does not expect any drastic changes in this positional warfare tactics before spring or even early summer. Difficulties of supply and transport, and of refitting as well, have held up this massed assault on all points until winter had come, and as a result Germany has had some relative respite during the most critical period. It is useless to conjecture as to what would have happened if this synchronized assault had taken place before winter's fog and rain, sleet and snow had put limitations to the use of mechanized and aerial forces. But there can be no doubt that Germany has managed to upset the time schedule of the Allied campaign to some considerable extent by holding on to the French ports and by their extremely stubborn defensive tactics in Holland and the Low-countries. The optimistic declarations of Allied spokesmen were based on plans which have had to be altered in view of later events. Just what Germany stands to gain by these delaying tactics is not clearly perceptible just now. The story of new secret weapons that would substantially alter the course of the war might not be true, and the reinforcements that would come as a matter-of-course by the

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entry into the field of the newest classes of trained conscripts, could not be so very substantial either. Forty to fifty new divisions at most could be added that way, which would not be sufficient to meet the wastage of even four months of intensive warfare.

But judging from the extreme violence of the assault now being delivered on the Western defences, and that despite all adverse circumstances, the Allied Supreme Command is evidently reluctant to allow Germany any respite. This means that time is of the essence and that for reasons undisclosed as yet. No new factor is likely to enter into the calculations of either side, beyond what may happen in the Far East, and Far-Eastern considerations do not seem to have bothered the Supreme Command of the Allied forces, at least not until very recently. Therefore, the only conclusion we can arrive at is that the Allied Supreme Command considers that a break-through to the heart of Germany must be attempted right now at all costs or else the Axis might gain some advantage. On the chances of an early break-through, the Allied Chiefs are extremely reluctant to make any declaration, as evidenced by Mr. Churchill's speech. This reserve is natural since the optimistic forecasts made early in this year have all been proved to be wrong. In the absence of any data we cannot judge as to what went wrong with the early calculations. We can only say that the Wehrmacht seems to have staved off defeat and collapse for the time being and gained a few months of most valuable time. What will come of all this in the long run or how this temporary achievement will be of any avail to the Nazi High Command it is very difficult to foresee, as neither in men nor in material can the Germans regain the supremacy that now rests with the Allies, unless a major blunder is committed by Allied command themselves. All that seems possible now, in the light of available facts, is a prolongation of the war in Europe up to the end of the summer of 1945 or at the most till next autumn.

In the Far-Eastern zone the war in the Phillipines is proceeding just in the fashion as might have been foreseen in consideration of Japanese methods of offence and defence. Suicide tactics are a speciality of the Nipponese and as the war proceeds nearer their homeland the more ruthless and ferocious will be the struggle. All the same the naval defeat does not seem to have altogether the same effect as one was led to conclude at the beginning. Japanese reinforcements have been landed in fair strength on Leyte island and even on Morotai. Their land-based planes have kept up the attack despite heavy losses inflicted on them and the ground forces are still fighting with extreme ferocity. Taken over all the campaign in the Phillipines promises to be the severest so far in the East. The Allied Commander in this area, General MacArthur, knows every inch of the soil which would be undoubtedly of the greatest advantage. Further the U.S. forces here have room for action on a large scale as an island like Leyte of nearly 2,500 sq. miles in extent would provide ample scope for large masses of artillery and armour. The Japanese navy is estimated to have lost about 10 per cent of its effective strength up to November and a larger percentage has been put out of action for two to three months at least. But ground-based planes from Luzon and motor barges and speed-boats will prove to be serious difficulties in the hands of a determined foe like the Japanese. In any case the battle for Phillipines seems to be likely to increase in fury as time goes on for some little time to come.

On the Continent of Asia the Japanese are on the defensive on the Indo-Burmese and Sino-Burmese frontiers. No signs have as yet been apparent of any renewed activity on the part of the Japanese in these sectors. The Chinese have made further progress in the clearing up of the Burma road, though a good deal still remains to be done. On the Indo-Burmese front progress has been slow due to the Japanese making a stubborn stand near the Chindwin, beyond Tiddim and near Kalwa.

On Continental China Japan seems to have gained all her main objectives and is now attempting to consolidate her gains. If she succeeds in that attempt, then the Allies will have to face continental warfare in that area on disadvantageous terms, unless Burma and Malaya are regained and the land communications with China freed from all danger. There is every danger of such an eventuality if the war in Europe much prolonged. No doubt the Japanese would need at least a year to repair and refit the main North to South railways and other land communications in China that they have seized now, and no doubt that there is every possibility of Japan's sea-route to South-Eastern Asia and the Dutch East Indies being seriously constricted—if not totally cut—before then. But even at that, given that year's time, much of the work done by the Allied forces at such cost, will be undone for the time being, which will mean in its turn a long war in the East after a long war in the West. China has already shown what happens in a long war under adverse circumstances. India has already suffered grievous losses through man-made famine and pestilence, and a long war will not improve Allied chances unless drastic action be taken in these two countries.

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THE NEGOTIATIONS AND AFTER

The Lahore Resolution of 1940 and Mr. Jinnah

By D. N. BANERJEE,

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I

In a sense, it is a matter of deep and genuine satisfaction to every true nationalist in India that the negotiations between Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah have broken down. The reason is that these negotiations were, as it has since transpired, proceeding on the basis of some form of division of India, which no true nationalist can view with equanimity. In a later article in this series I shall deal with the position taken by Gandhiji during the negotiations and afterwards. In this article I should like to examine the position taken by Mr. Jinnah during those negotiations and also afterwards.

II

At its Session held at Lahore on 26th March, 1940, the All-India Muslim League resolved, among other things, that

"No constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principle, *viz.*, that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute 'Independent States' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign," and that

"Adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights, and interests in consultation with them."

The resolution also contemplated exactly identical safeguards for Muslim and other minorities in the "parts of India where the Musalmans are in a minority."

Further, the Muslim League authorized its "Working Committee to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all powers such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary."

It may be noted here that the first part of the resolution as quoted above, is not free from ambiguity. What do the expressions "Independent States" and "the Constituent Units" really mean? And, secondly, if "the Constituent Units" are to be "autonomous" and "sovereign", how can they be *in* the "Independent States"? Thirdly, what is the significance of the word "autonomous" here? If any political entity is "sovereign", it is *ipso facto* autonomous, unless the term "sovereign" is used in less than its fullest technical sense. Did the authors of the resolution use the term "sovereign" in the same sense in which the Indian States are said to be "sovereign"? They might have. But in that case there would be some conflict with the concluding part of the resolution as shown above. Again, what does the word "finally" in the concluding part mean? Does it keep the door partly open for some negotiation with other communities or parties in India? Probably, it does. Otherwise, it has no meaning here.

Another point worthy of note in connexion with the resolution is that the plural terms "regions", "areas", "zones", "Independent States", and "respective regions" in it unmistakably point to one thing, namely, that the authors of the resolution intended the creation of certainly more than one "Muslim" State in the North-West and the North-East of India.

Now I shall refer to the interpretation which Mr. Jinnah put upon the resolution both during his negotiations with Gandhiji and afterwards. Among other things, he has stated:

"According to the Lahore Resolution, as I have already explained to you (*i.e.*, Gandhiji), all these matters (*i.e.*, foreign affairs, defence, etc.), which are the life-blood of any State, cannot be delegated to any central authority or Government. The matter of security of the two States and the natural and mutual obligations that may arise out of physical contiguity will be for the constitution-making body of Pakistan and that of Hindustan, or the party concerned, to deal with on the footing of their being two independent States."[1]

Again[2]:

"The Lahore resolution . . . . stated that the division should be on the basis of the present boundaries of the six provinces, namely, the N.W.F.P., the Punjab, Sind, Bengal, Assam and Baluchistan subject to territorial adjustments that might be necessary."[3]

Further[4]:

"If the principle of division was accepted then it followed that both Hindusthan and Pakistan would have to choose their own constitution-making bodies. Those bodies as representing two sovereign States would deal with questions of mutual and natural relations, and obligations by virtue of the physical contiguity and they would then as two independent sovereign states—two nations—would come to an agreement on various matters. Take the case of America.[5] There are 23 indepen-

1 See Mr. Jinnah's letter to Gandhiji, dated 25th September, 1944.

2 From Mr. Jinnah's views as set forth at the Press Conference, held at Bombay on 4th October, 1944.

3 Mr. Jinnah "emphasised the words 'subject to' and explained that territorial adjustments did not apply to one side only but on both sides—Hindusthan and Pakistan."—See *ibid.*

4 See *ibid.*

5 By "America" here Mr. Jinnah obviously meant the whole of North and South America, and not the United States of America, as some people have misunderstood him to do.

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dent sovereign States in America. They have their treaties and agreements with regard to their mutual interests. Even so the States in Europe have their own agreements with each other for inter-trade and commerce and even alliances. These are things that can be adjusted. Agreements and treaties are entered into even between two countries that have no physical contiguity. Here the two nations are neighbours and have physical contiguity."

Lastly[6]:

"There is only one practical, realistic way of resolving Muslim-Hindu differences. This is to divide India into two sovereign parts of Pakistan and Hindustan by the recognition of the whole of the North-West Frontier Province, Baluchistan, Sind, the Punjab, Bengal and Assam as sovereign Muslim Territories as they now stand. and for each of us to trust the other to give equitable treatment to Hindu minorities in Pakistan and Muslim minorities in Hindustan. We are prepared to trust 25 million Muslims to them if they will trust us." (*sic*).

One thing may be noticed here. As I have shown before, the Lahore resolution definitely envisaged more than one Muslim sovereign. State on the North-West and the North-East of India. Mr. Jinnah has now, perhaps, realized its many practical difficulties, and, has therefore, in anticipation of the sanction of the Muslim League, been arguing on the basis of one independent and sovereign, Muslim State,

"composed of two zones, north-west and north-east, comprising six provinces, namely, Sind, Baluchistan, the N.W.F.P., the Punjab, Bengal, and Assam."[7]

This is very significant. His next move—rather demand—would be that there should—"should" at first, but "must" later on—be a corridor through the State of Hindusthan to link up the north-western and north-eastern zones, for the proper functioning of the State of Pakistan. Then some of his followers would begin to echo his voice. and urge, "The Hindus should make this little 'brotherly' gesture". Thereupon, some Congressmen or ex-Congrssmen would come forward and say, "Yes, this is only fair". This is not an imaginary picture. Things have been happening in this way during the last few years. However, this is only by the way.

It is evident from the interpretation which Mr. Jinnah has put upon the Lahore resolution that, according to it, the future relationship between the North-West[8] and the North-East[9] of India and the rest of India is to be of the same character as subsists, or may subsist, as a result of treaties, agreements or alliance, as between, say, England and France or Spain, France and Russia, Germany and Italy or Turkey, or Turkey and England, in Europe, or as between the United States and Mexico, or the United States and Brazil or Argentina, for instance, in America. That is to say, this relationship is to be based upon mere treaties, agreements, or the principles of an alliance, as between two or more absolutely independent and sovereign States. The view embodied in the resolution thus interpreted, appears to be so puerile, but, at the same time, so preposterous and dangerous, that I cannot yet persuade myself to believe, without seriously questioning their patriotism and without insulting their intelligence and political acumen, that the authors of the resolution, being children of this soil, did really mean what they have been represented by their leader to have meant. Has communalism really so much warped our judgment that some of our best men cannot see things in their true and natural perspective? Has it altogether destroyed their political foresight? Ours is really a very unfortunate country!

May I, in this connexion, ask the authors of the resolution, and, particularly, its interpreter who is said to be a lawyer of eminence, what will be the sanction of the treaties and agreements which the latter has in view? And we must bear in mind that these treaties and agreements are to govern matters of such vital concern to the whole of India as foreign affairs, defence, customs, currency, etc. Treaties and agreements between two or more sovereign States do not create a common political authority superior to the contracting parties. What will happen in case of nonconformity, on the part of one of the contracting parties to a treaty in India, to the terms of the treaty? And who will adjudicate in a dispute arising from such a treaty? Further, what will be the value of such adjudication, assuming that a machinery is set up for this purpose, without a sanction behind its award? These are very pertinent questions which cannot be shelved or trifled with. Nor can they be dismissed as merely academic or pedantic. In the absence of an effective sanction of the treaties and agreements which Mr. Jinnah contemplates, "self-help in its most licentious form" will be the only remedy left to the peoples of the States of Hindusthan and Pakistan, for the enforcement of their terms, in the event of disobedience by either party. That is to say, these two States will have, from time to time, to take resort to "war, the litigation of States." Thus, if there is no common political superior in the form an efficient central authority for the whole of India, we shall be compelled to have, from time to time, the arbitrament of the sword, and that means frequent civil war in this country, with all its accompanying miseries and

6 See his statement to a foreign correspondent, dated at Bombay 6th October, 1944.—*A.P.I.* message.

7 See his views above. and also his letter to Gandhiji, dated 25th September, 1944.

8 Sind, Baluchistan, the N.W.F.P., and the Punjab.

9 Bengal and Assam.

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sufferings, together with the danger of an effective foreign intervention and the re-conoquest of India by a foreign power. This is the lesson of historic experience, rightly characterized as "the best oracle of wisdom", and "the least fallible guide" of human action.

There is, it must be remembered, a fundamental difference between an Alliance, or even a Confederation, and a Government proper. As Alexander Hamilton rightly pointed out[10] long ago, in reference to the views of those of his countrymen, who, like the Muslim separationists in India, had been opposing the proposed creation of the Federation of the United States of America :

"Government implies the power of making laws. It is essential to the idea of a law, that it be attended with a sanction; or, in other words, a penalty or punishment for disobedience. If there be no penalty annexed to disobedience, the resolutions or commands which pretend to be laws will, in fact, amount to nothing more than advice or recommendation."

And advice is not command. In the absence of a competent central authority, the tie of the proposed alliance between Hindusthan and Pakistan will be too feeble to bind either. It will be a mere rope of sand.[11] As the same American sage[12] further pointed out :

"There is nothing absurd or impracticable in the idea of a league or alliance between independent nations for certain defined purposes precisely stated in a treaty regulating all the details of time, place, circumstance, and quantity; leaving nothing to future discretion; and depending for its execution on the good faith of the parties. Compacts of this kind exist among all civilized nations, subject to the usual vicissitudes of peace and war, of observance and non-observance, as the interests or passions of the contracting powers dictate. In the early part of the present century[13] there was an epidemical rage in Europe for this species of compacts, from which the politicians of the times fondly hoped for benefits which were never realized. With a view to establishing the equilibrium of power and the peace of that part of the world, all the resources of negotiations were exhausted, and triple and quadruple alliances were formed; but *they were scarcely formed before they were broken,*[14] giving an instructive but afflicting lesson to mankind, how little dependence is to be placed on treaties which have no other sanction than the obligations of good faith, and which oppose general considerations of peace and justice to the impulse of any immediate interest or passion."[15]

The importance of this statement will, it is hoped, excuse its quotation at length. Another observation of this great American statesman is particularly worthy of note in this connexion.

"To look", said[16] he, "for a continuation of harmony between a number of independent, unconnected sovereignties in the same neighbourhood, would be to disregard the uniform course of human events, and to set at defiance the accumulated experience of ages . . . But notwithstanding the concurring testimony of experience, in this particular, there are still to be found visionary or designing men, who stand ready to advocate the paradox of perpetual peace between the States, though dismembered and alienated from each other."

On the other hand, he warned, "weakness and divisions at home would invite dangers from abroad." Those who advocate the partitioning of India into two or more sovereign and independent states as a solution of our communal problem, may not be put in the category of "designing men" as contemplated by Alexander Hamilton; but they are certainly Utopian visionaries if they think that they will thereby bring peace, harmony, goodwill, and prosperity to this country. No; their policy will, even if we somehow succeed in gaining freedom from foreign control, ultimately spell red ruin to it. It may be true that they have had some legitimate causes of resentment at the treatment they received from the Congress High Command, or from some Congress Ministers, in the past; and I am one of those who believe, as I have shown in another connexion[17], that when in 1937 the Congress decided to accept office, it committed a political blunder in not offering, of its own free will, to form, in co-operation with the Muslim League coalition governments in the six Governors' Provinces in which it then commanded a majority of votes in the local legislatures. But does all this justify the attempts now being made to inflict a mortal wound upon our common motherland?[18] I put

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10 See *The Federalist* (Lodge's edition, 1888), No. XV.

I would very respectfully request every Muslim separationist in India to go through the pages of *The Federalist,* and, particularly. of *The Federalist,* Nos. I-XVI.

Also see Woodrow Wilson, *The State,* 1919, pp. 287-88.

11 All the arguments set forth in this article against any kind of *alliance* between Hindusthan and Pakistan will apply equally well to a *Confederation* of India, as proposed by Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar and some other persons.

Referring to the inherent weakness of the Confederation of the United States (1781-89), Woodrow Wilson has observed : "It (*i.e.,* the Confederation) was given absolutely no executive power, and was therefore helpless and contemptible . . . its only power to govern was a power to advise. It could ask the states for money, but it could not compel them to give it; it could ask them for troops, but could not force them to heed the requisition; it could make treaties, but must trust the states to fulfil them; it could contract debts, but must rely upon the States to pay them. It was a body richly enough endowed with prerogatives, but not at all endowed with powers. 'The United States in Congress assembled' formed a mere consultative and advisory board".—*The State,* 1919, p. 288.

12 See *The Federalist,* No. XV.

13 *i.e.,* the 18th century.

14 The italics are mine.

15 Also see F. E. Smith (Lord Birkenhead), *International Law,* pp. 9-11.

16 See *The Federalist,* No. VI.

17 See my paper on "The Problem of Party Government in India", read at the Third Indian Political Science Conference, held at Mysore in December, 1940, and published in *The Indian Journal of Political Science,* Conference Number, April-June, 1941.

18 Also see Beni Prasad, *Communal Settlement,* 1944, pp. 27-28.

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this question in all humility and seriousness to the protagonists of separationism in this country. And it must be borne in mind in this connexion that the Congress is not going to be a pepretual organization. As a matter of fact, all the existing political parties may be *functus officio* with the attainment of freedom by India, and there may come into being, and signs are not wanting even now, new parties on altogether different bases.

III

I shall now refer to another aspect of the question, namely, the logic and equity of the position taken by Mr. Jinnah.

In recent years Mr. Jinnah has repeatedly asserted that he is opposed to any kind of Federation of India, even though it might be so devised as to ensure all "adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards," to quote the words of the Lahore resolution itself, for the legitimate interests of minorities in India, as, he fears, it will mean, in effect, a "Hindu Raj". This apprehension of his is based on purely imaginary grounds. Because, along with the statutory safeguards, the Federal Constitution will provide for an independent federal judiciary which will act as the guardian, as it were, of the interests of the mionrities as provided for in the Constitution. Let us assume, however, for the sake of argument, that his apprehension is well-founded, and see what follows.

Now, what is the percentage of the total Muslim population in India? Roughly speaking, according to the census of 1941, out of a total population of 389 millions living in India, 92 millions are Muslims and 255 millions are Hindus. This means that the Muslims constitute about 24 per cent of the population of India, say, about one-fourth. Let us now see the position in Bengal and Assam. According to the same census, out of a total population of about 60 millions in Bengal, approximately, 33 millions are Muslims, 25 millions are Hindus, and 2 millions the rest. Similarly, out of a total population of 10 millions in Assam, only 3·4 millions are Muslims, and the rest, including 4·2 millions of Hindus, are non-Muslims. These figures mean that the percentage of the Muslim population in Bengal is 55 and that of the non-Muslim 45; and that the percentage of the Muslim population in Assam is only 34 and that of the non-Muslim 66. And if we take Bengal and Assam jointly, as is the idea of Mr. Jinnah, then we find that out of a total population of about 70·5 millions, including fractions, living in these two provinces, 36·4 millions are Muslims. And this means that in these two provinces taken together, Muslims constitute only 51·6 per cent of their total population, say, 52 per cent,[19] and non-Muslims comprise the rest, *i.e.*, at least 48 per cent.

Mr. Jinnah objects to an All-India Federation because, according to him, it will be a "Hindu Raj" over the Muslims of India who constitute only 24 per cent of its total population. But the same Mr. Jinnah will have no hesitation and scruple in imposing, without even their consent and against their declared will, a Muslim Raj over 45 per cent of the population of Bengal, and, what is still more ridiculous, over 66 per cent of the population of Assam, and, jointly speaking, over 48 per cent of the population of Bengal and Assam, who are non-Muslims. Are these non-Muslims mere herds of cattle, or slaves in a plantation? This is neither logic, nor reason, nor equity, nor even commonsense. If 24 per cent of the population of India has a right to object to the establishment of an All-India Federation because it will mean, according to Mr. Jinnah, a "Hindu Raj", then certainly 45 per cent of the population of Bengal, 66 per cent of the population of Assam, and 48 per cent of the combined population of Assam and Bengal have a far greater right to object to the establishment of a Muslim Raj over them.[20] And, be it remembered that these non-Muslims of Bengal and Assam comprise a community which is far more advanced than the Muslims of these areas, educationally, economically, and politically, and this is admitted by Muslims themselves both by their words and by their action. Further, if there has been any political progress in India during the last sixty years, it has been largely due to the activities, sufferings and sacrifices of the members of this very community. And what I have said above in regard to Bengal and Assam will, in essence, also equally apply to the case of the Punjab.

Again, if it is a question of fear of each other, which community, the Hindu or the Muslim, has greater reasons to be afraid of the other? Admittedly, some Congress Ministers committed some errors of judgment during the brief period (1937-39) in which they were in office. But the British Governors of the Provinces concerned, were also partly responsible for this, as they had power, under the Government of India Act, 1935, to prevent such errors of judgment if they were really serious. Moreover, compare the record of this short Congress rule in India in relation to Muslims, with the

19 This percentage will further go down if the Province of Bengal is reconstituted on the linguistic basis and the Bengali-speaking population in the adjoining districts to its west, is included within it.

20 In regard to the two-nations theory of Mr. Jinnah, which is a myth, I shall deal with it in my next article in this series. There is no space for it here.

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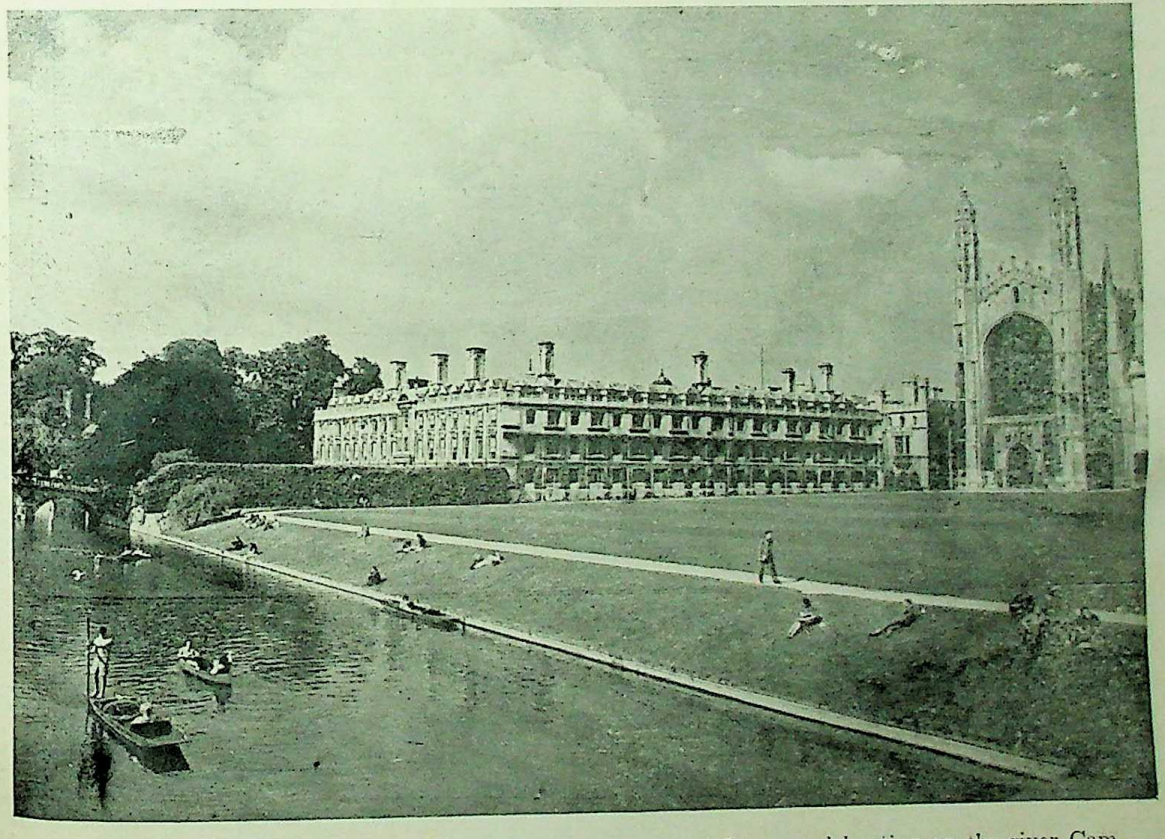
Chinese troops cross the Salween River in rubber assault boats



This is a typical Cambridge scene: the college buildings, King's Lawn, and boating on the river Cam. In the centre of the picture is Clare College (1336) and its bridge, and on the right is the famous King's College Chapel

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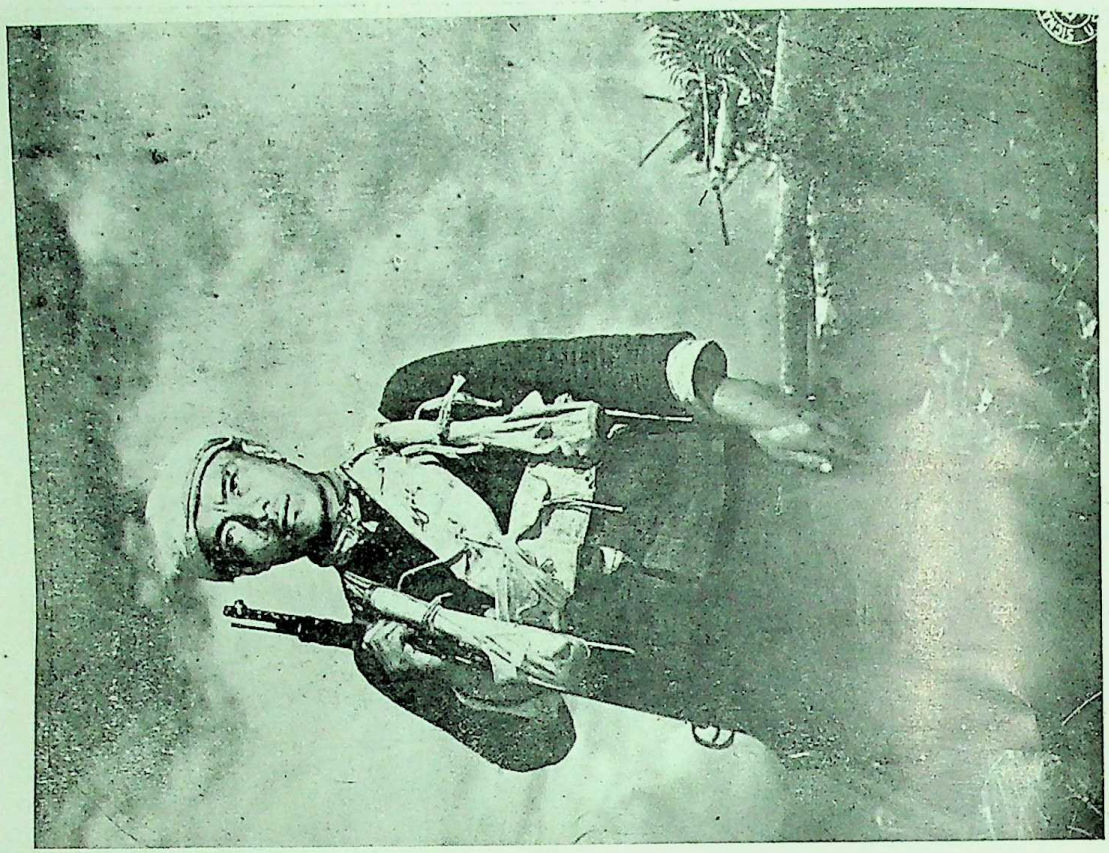
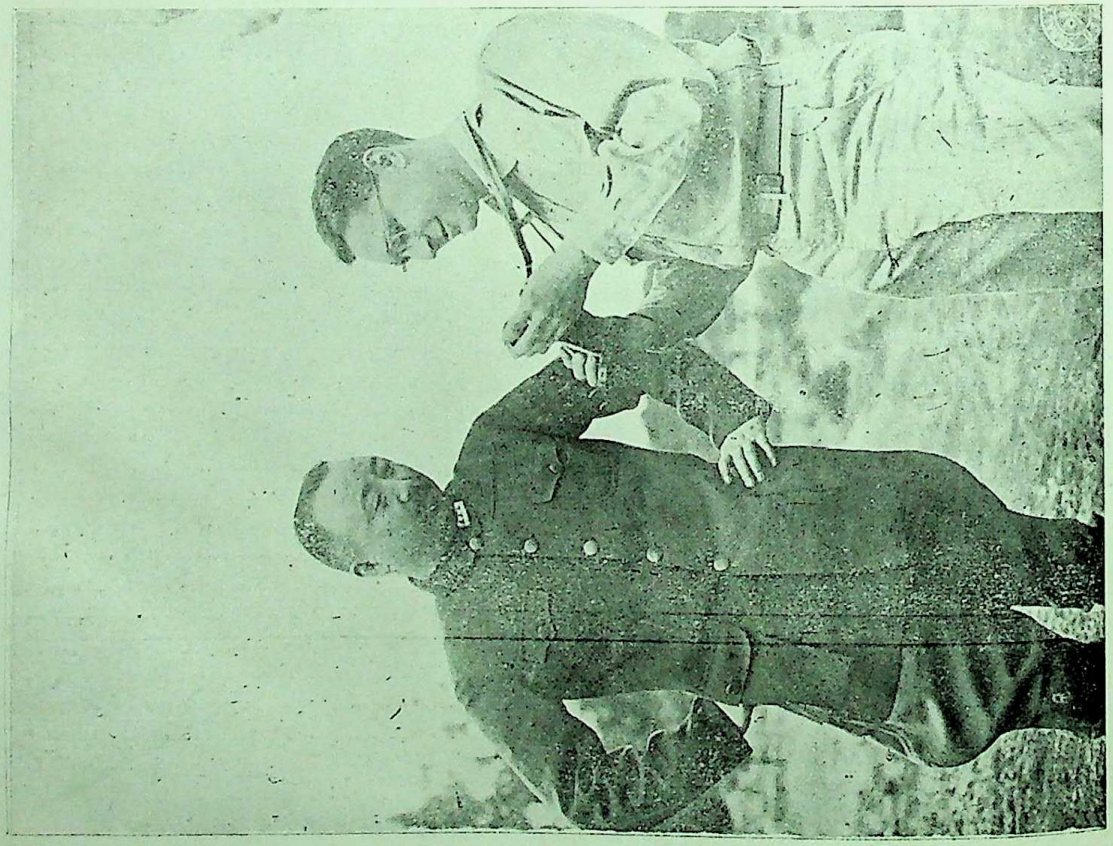


Chinese guerilla *Courtesy : USOWI*



Marshal Wei Li-Huang, Commander of the Chinese Expeditionary Forces, and Lt. Norman J. Dain, U.S. Photo Officer, Task Force Hq.

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record of the long period of Muslim rule in India, in relation to the Hindu community, Hindu culture, Hindu religion, Hindu temples, and the images of Hindu deities. I would not refer to those unpleasant things here. During his negotiations with Gandhiji, Mr. Jinnah once quoted Dr. Ambedkar as an authority on a point. I would only invite, in this connexion, his attention to what the same Dr. Ambedkar has said in Chapter IV of his book entitled *Thoughts on Pakistan* (1941). Nor do I propose to refer, partly for want of space and partly for avoiding bitterness to the record of some non-Congress Ministries in India since 1937. The best thing is that we should all forget the past and build our future on a new foundation of inter-communal good-will and harmony, which, however, is impossible so long Mr. Jinnah persists in his present attitude.

It has also been argued that if, in a divided India, the Muslim minorities can agree to live in Hindusthan, why the Hindu minorities should object to living in Pakistan. The answer to this point is very simple. In the first place, the Muslim minorities may have faith in the sense of justice of the Government of Hindusthan; but the Hindu minorities may not have the same faith in the sense of justice of the Government of Pakistan. Secondly, who have asked the Muslim minorities to accept the position to which it is proposed to relegate them in Hmdusthan? Certainly, not the Hindus. It is some of their own leaders who are toying with their destiny, thinking perhaps that the Hindu minorities in Pakistan will be held as hostages for them in Hindusthan. Thirdly, to be a part of a common whole in an undivided India is one thing; but to be a part of Hindusthan in a divided India is a different thing. Now, knowing all this and the risks involved therein, if the Muslim minorities in the proposed Hindusthan areas, deliberately, or misled by their leaders, want to commit their political suicide, does it follow that the Hindus elsewhere should also do the same? It is like arguing that because A wants to commit suicide, therefore his neighbour B must also commit suicide. Fourthly, why will these Hindus allow themselves to be cut off from the rest of Hindu India and from its immemorial, cultural and religious associations? They look upon the whole of India as their Motherland and they must remain her nationals and citizens. They consider this to be their birthright; and they will never agree to forgo this right, just for the sake of placating a few unreasonable communalists.

In conclusion, I should like to say that Mr. Jinnah should be well advised by his followers to give up the wild goose chase of Pakistan. It will prove a veritable *fata morgana*. It will, and can, never materialise, notwithstanding all encouragement which some British politicians and some organs of the British press may have given to it, under the impulse of a sinister motive. It is no use ploughing the sands. Mr. Jinnah should also realise, if he has not already done it, that his movement has created enough bitterness in this country, and spread a miasma of hatred throughout the land. Hatred begets hatred and communalism begets communalism. Even people who had never any trace of communalism in them before are being gradually infected with its virus. It is such a terribly infactious poison.

Mr. Jinnah often pleads for realities. He should himself face some realities. With talks of pan-Islamism in the air and the declaration, from time to time, by many responsible Muslim leaders that a Muslim's first loyalty is to Islam and that his loyalty to his country comes afterwards, Mr. Jinnah would be in a dream-land if he ever expected that the Hindus and the Sikhs would agree to the partitioning of India and to the creation of two sovereign Muslim States on its North-Western and North-Eastern frontiers.[21] Even if Gandhiji misled by another Mephistophelean move, persuades himself to agree to his terms, nothing will follow. With all his influence, Gandhiji will not be able to deliver the goods to him. He will be simply repudiated by Hindu and Sikh India. And Mr. Jinnah surely knows the history of the partition of Bengal. This is a fundamental point. The sooner Mr. Jinnah realizes it, the better for all of us. Next, even a large section of the Muslim community of India is definitely opposed to partition. Thirdly, the Princely Order in India is against it.[22] Only a bedlamite can believe that any satisfactory reconstruction of the future governmental system of this country is possible, with the Indian States out of it. Fourthly, other minority communities in India have unequivocally declared their adhesion to the principle of the unity and integrity of India. And lastly, there are the very weighty pronouncements of two successive Viceroys of India, Lord Linlithgow and Lord Wavell, on the question of the geographical unity of India and its implications. Many people do not appear to have realized the full significance of the present Viceroy's statement that "no man can alter geography". Unfortunately, we often forget in our enthusiasm that Government is neither poetry, nor romance, nor demagogy, nor, again, stump oratory. Much of our trouble will disappear if Muslim separationists will kindly feel that reason cannot be on

21 See in this connexion Stanley Rice's article, "India: Partition or Unity," in *The Asiatic Review*, January 1943.

22 See the Maharaja Jam Sahib of Nawanagar's article, "The Future of India and the Princes."—*Ibid.* Also see Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's recent speeches.

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their side alone, and that they are not infallible. Most of them are so wedded to their own opinions as to be quite unable to see any other point of view. They have promised "adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards" to minorities in Pakistan. If that be all, why should they object to an All-India Federation, in which also they can insist on, and can easily have, similar safeguards for the Muslim community?

Not long ago Mr. Jinnah played a great role in the politics of India as a nationalist. Let him go back to that role again, and lead his countrymen to their cherished goal of a Free and United India—a United States of India, composed of autonomous units, joined together in a federal union, with adequate statutory safeguards for all racial or religious minorities in respect of their language, religion, culture, traditions, and other rights. He will be remembered by our posterity as one of the Makers of Modern India. But if, unfortunately, he persists in his present attitude, he will do real good to none—neither to his Motherland, nor even to his own community. He will only succeed in creating more bitterness in this country. Federation is the only solution of our problem. Partition will lead to our annihilation. Persistence in unreason will provoke unreason. And if unreason is pitted against unreason, it will ultimately lead to consequences which I had better not describe here, but which can be imagined by all sensible people.

INDIA AS DEPICTED BY AN ENGLISH LADY

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

I

From the Cambridge University Press one expects a tome—not a "tabloid." At least an old hand at reviewing, like myself, does. Many, indeed, have been the books bearing its imprint that during the last 35 years, have been sent to me for review by one publication or another or "with the compliments of the Syndics." I cannot recollect, however, that there ever was among these an "outline."

Since H. G. Wells, however, set the fashion with his "Outline of World History" (or some such title) the tempo of our life has been jazzed. Only high notes—and not too many of them—stand now a chance of being heard. I am, therefore, not a whit surprised to receive from the Cambridge University Press a slight volume bearing the simple but (at least to me) suggestive title: India In Outline.*

Though there are only 110 pages of text, including the appendices and index but not the preliminaries, and though the *format* is small enough to go into the pocket, the book is worthy of the Cambridge University Press. The type is clear, well set and passed by a lynx-eyed proof-reader. The photographs and the single painting have been successfully processed, though one is crowded against the other and the juxtaposition is not always pleasing to the eye. I like the feel of the paper and the look of the print. Even the binding is not flimsy. Is there a war on in the land where this amazingly well-run press is located?

II

The book is by Lady Mabel Hartog. Beyond the fact that she is "no stranger to India," the publishers tell nothing about the author (I hate the word "authoress": why should sex-differentiation be shoved into literature's domain?). Nor does she herself provide a glimmer into her personality, through the preface, not quite a page in length. But then, she was brought up in the tradition of reticence that the blare of the BBC and Britain's other noisy propagandist organs of this war-crazed period are fast destroying.

In her own country books of reference are always handy, even in a small, private library, and readers are in the habit of consulting them. In the United States of America the "handle" to the author's name would, in itself, be more than enough to make her book seem worth while. In that Republic homage flows to a "Lady's" feet as monsoon water pours down from Himalaya's heights, in the shadow of which I am writing.

In our land we are not in the habit of dipping into reference books, even if we have the money and the heart (this is more important) to purchase them. So let me give a little "background information"—a phrase much in evidence just now.

When I met the author of *India in Outline* her husband—Philip Hartog—had not been Knighted. At the time I first contacted him, he was the External Registrar of the London University. Later he served on the Commission appointed to suggest ways to unscramble the Calcutta University and to re-scramble it so as to serve Bengal's needs more efficiently. That "U" was fortunate in its omelette-tosser—the vigorous-bodied and still more vigorous-minded, lion-hearted, Ashutosh Mookerji. Some time later Hartog was placed in administrative control of the Dacca University—one of the enter-

* *India in Outline* by Lady Mabel Hartog [Cambridge University Press] 6/- net.

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prises conceived by Lord Curzon while we constituted for him "the white man's burden."

Mrs. Hartog was to my wife and me a perfect hostess during the two or three days we spent with her at the Vice-Chancellor's bungalow in Dacca in (I believe) 1923, and her husband all attention. Before going there she had had some "Indian background." Her uncle, Kisch (a Jewish name, I believe), had spent the best part of his life in India and retired, if my memory serves me aright, as the head of the Post and Telegraph Services. His son—her cousin Cecil—preferred the "Home" to the "Indian" Civil Service. I encountered him at the India Office in my early Fleet Street days. He accompanied Edwin Samuel Montagu to India in 1917 and was much "dined and wined" by Britons in the "Indian" services, as Graham Pole—a shrewd Scots solicitor and devotee of Annie Besant, then also in our country, told me on his return to London. Kisch's rise at the India Office was rapid and he always was pleasant and interesting to talk with.

This little lady, I could see, was much more than Philip Hartog's wife in that Vice-Chancellor's mansion at Dacca. She had a nimble wit and behind it, as her conversation showed, was much reading and shrewd observation of men and matters. She had intellectual interests of her own. I am delighted that she, upon her return to her native land, adventured into literature. Her success seems to have been immediate. Deservedly so, judging by this *Outline*.

III

The character of her book, lying beside my typewriter, is indicated by the reading matter on the jacket-flap. It is "about a country of 400 million inhabitants." These are, the publishers tell us, "of several religions, of many conflicting customs, of long and distinguished history, of many climates, soils and geographical forms, of many states and governments."

I wonder who fabricated these words for the Press. To him we must be a veritable Zoo, in fact. A visitor is expected to arm himself at the Zoo gate with a hand-book, if he is at all minded to know something more of the caged animals than his eyes and ears will tell him. So, I suppose, an "outline" is needed for "India," with all these diversified specimens of *homo sapiens*, soils, climates and what not. These have yet to pass into undivided Indian control.

Lady Hartog herself intended her small book "to serve as an introduction to India, and to provide a background for further reading." So she says in the preface. It is good to know from the author about the purposes she has in view.

IV

Not till I seriously took to photography and learnt something of both its science and art, did I realize the function that a "background plays in creating an effect or of destroying it. If it is over-bright or garish in colour, or complicated or curious in design, it will attract attention to itself, rather than serve to focus it upon the main subject. If the tint has been selected by a person who has not understudied Nature, the figure painted or photographed will sink into it, instead of standing out cameo-like against it.

Lady Hartog is, judged by her 109 pages of text, illumined by 31 photographs, of which one has been used with my "compliments," is the happy possessor of the secret of "back-lighting." It has that neutral tint which makes the object limned against it detach itself and seem almost to walk out of the canvas or the printed page.

The figure she had drawn, with a rare economy of strokes, is really Britannia—or is it only—"Englishia"? She is depicted as India's trustee. Her robe is made of *kamkhab*, or, perhaps as Lady Hartog would write it, "cincob." The most skilled spinners and weavers in the Motherland have toiled at it. The decorations are done by the most competent needle-wielders gathered from distant points in India. The rose of England constitutes, however, the main motif. The thistle of Scotland, too, appears here and there, but not too obtrusively. Even the shamrock of Ireland—not Eire's, pray note the difference, for Eire has been misbehaving during this war in the vigorous successful prosecution of which Lady Hartog (judged by her book) is keenly interested—has not been left out. Nor, for that matter, has the star that, for some reason beyond my *moti aqal* (clodhopper's brain) is associated with India. Then, too, you find gold tissue that must have come from a Benares loom and has just a touch of purple, wrapped round the heroine's figure with the artlessness of supreme art, transfiguring the short, snow-white locks.

The background is not without charm. It has bright spots strewn over it—like stars lost in a mass of almost formless rain-cloud foaming against the firmament. The bathroom of Mohenjo-daro (p. 21), for instance, shines out: but remember, Britannia's back is turned towards it—she does not betray even by a look that she, herself, in those remote days, had not even heard of such an institution. Not far from it is "Asoka, one of the two greatest monarchs of Indian history, the other being the Mogul Emperor, Akbar, contemporary of Queen Elizabeth" (Pp. 22, 25). The "nine Gems" of the "Gupta kings" are worked in with a single deft stroke of the brush (p. 23). The

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horsemen from Ghor (Ghur is, I think, the modern spelling) and the chevaliers from Chitor (p. 24) are to be seen making the dust fly—seen of course in the distance. Near by is stencilled the legend that our mathematicians and astronomers, even in the age that we regard as golden, "show an intimate acquaintance with the work of the Greeks." (P. 23). As borrowers and imitators we must be in a class without peer.

England "made her first contacts with India through the sea route discovered by the Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama in 1498." (P. 26). Warming to her task, Lady Hartog discards the sombre hues. With rich—but not gaudy (reader, mark the difference) colours she quickly and clever'y gets on with the portrait.

Britannia appears as Queen Elizabeth and gives "the monopoly of trade with the East" (p. 26) to her merchants leagued together in 1600 as the East India Company. The word "Hon'ble," so often correlated with this body, she wisely eschews. Wisely I think.

Britannia of Lady Hartog's creation is a composite figure. Part of her is "Job Charnock, who married a Hindu lady after rescuing her from her first husband's funeral pyre." (P. 26). Sir Thomas Roe is shown in the act of proclaiming: "Do not waste your money on military adventures." (P. 27). Robert Clive—"a junior clerk" in the fateful days of Anglo-French warfare—knew how to manage affairs and "the battle of Plassey therefore marks a turning point in the history of both Britain and India." (P. 28).

To the author's credit be it noted that she indicates by a heavy sable dot "the black period of misrule in which" the English traders, "ill-suited" for "political and administrative" responsibilities, used "their power to enrich themselves and to push their own private interests." (P 29). Sent back to put matters right Clive "accepted over a quarter of a million pounds from Mir Jaffir" (*Ibid*). His explanation that "such action was no more than the usual Indian custom" saved him from punishment: but did not silence comment that hounded him to "tragic death by his own hand at the age of forty-nine." (*Ibid.*)

Warren Hastings is represented as the builder of "a system of government which should be just and fair to all," and as the encourager of "the study of Indian languages." With a push from him "the period of exploitation" passed "into the period of trusteeship." Over this detail the Lady's brush lovingly lingered. According to her:

"The period of exploitation was passing into the period of trusteeship. The great 'humanitarian' movement, as it was called, which (mark the proximity of England and British) conscience was being awakened to the rights of man all over the world, regardless of co'our or creed. The first campaign of the humanitarians was against slavery; the next resulted in the taking over by Parliament of the supervision of the East India Company's administration in all but commercial affairs. 'All political power which is set over men,' said Burke, ought to be exercised ultimately for their benefit. Its use is in the strictest sense a trust. By the Act of 1784, introduced by the younger Pitt, that trust in India was in future to be exercised through a Board of Control, whose president became something like a Secretary of State." (P. 30).

And so on down to our day. "In October, 1943 Lord Linlithgow laid down the heavy burden of office as Viceroy, which he had borne for seven difficult years." Since then Field Marshal Lord Wavell has been at work, we are allowed to gather, assisting "India to full freedom." (P. 90).

V

Lo! these Indians, however. Gathered round Britannia's skirts they look like so many little imps. Not a bit grateful to her for the "sweat blood and tears" that the shouldering of the burden of "trusteeship" through 200 years has involved. They even spurned the gift that Winston Spencer Churchill had sent by his beloved comrade at arms—Sir Stafford Cripps, whose father, Lord Parmoor was among the first batch of acquaintances I made in my early days in Fleet Street. (Pp. 94-95). What can any one back in Britain do for these urchins, who snarl and snigger at one another? Vigorous indeed, are Lady Hartog's brush strokes depicting the bear-garden that the "Congress, the Moslem League, the Hindu Untouchables, the Depressed classes, the Sikhs" (and the rest) have made of India.

I am disappointed that Lady Hartog, with the means at her disposal, has not checked a statement wickedly attributed to the Mahatma Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. Having "lost faith in a British victory" he "regarded the Cripps offer, to use his own words, 'as a post-dated cheque on a crashing bank?'" So she writes. Before giving still wider currency to them, and in so positive a fashion, she should have found out if they were really "his (Gandhiji's) own words."

These they were not, as we know from Mr. Horace Alexander—a member of that humanitarian group known to themselves as "the Society of Friends" and to others as Quakers. Mr. Gandhi was too high-souled to protest. Such a fiction does harm to our cause, especially in the United States of America. There because of its imaginative trappings, it would catch the eye.

The sombre effect given to Britannia, in the freedom-bestowing attitude, is, however, offset by certain Indians painted in the foreground. They loom large. The colour and circumstance surrounding the rulers of Indians and their

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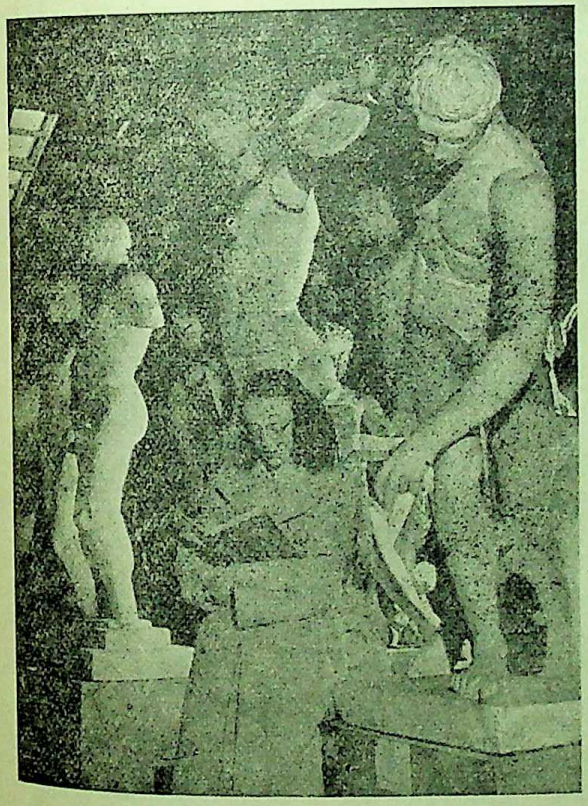
servitors, the romance that forms a nimbus round each fighter and, in this machine age, each worker in India's war-factories, have moved her even more than the exploits of the Empire-builders and Empire-maintainers. The tints used by her in the foreground show off all the more because of the restraint with which her hand has restored to the palette for filling in other portions of the picture.

What will Americans and other foreigners, who have no first-hand knowledge of India, learn from this "tabloid"? Little, I fear, to raise us (Princes, shell-makers and shell-slingers excepted) in their estimation. Even less likely are they to be moved by it to take enthusiastic interest in our effort to shake the political burden off our backs. We shall, nevertheless, walk erect with our heads held as high as any freemen's in any part of the globe.

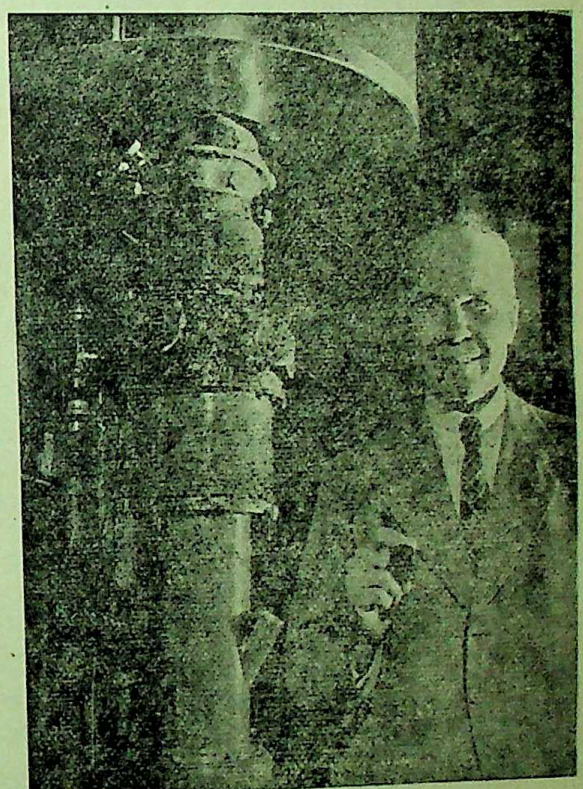
THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

By Prof. H. S. BENNETT

Of Britain's two most famous universities Cambridge is slightly the younger. The foundation of the University of Cambridge took place about 1225, and was probably due to one of those periodic migrations which were a feature of medieval student life—in this case, to a migration from Oxford. Whatever the causes, the 13th century saw the gradual creation of a University at Cambridge. The congregation of Masters willing and able to teach gradually attracted students, and before long the first college was established at Peterhouse in 1284. This was followed by successive foundations in that and the next two centuries; by 1596 there were 16 colleges, and since then only one men's college (Downing, founded in 1800) has been established and incorporated into the University.



Cambridge has two women's colleges—Girton and Newnham. Here is a woman undergraduate studying archaeology among the plaster casts of Greek statues



The new Cavendish Laboratory for physical research was founded in 1874. Sir William Lawrence Bragg, Cavendish Professor and a Nobel prize winner, is seen standing beside a lend-lease microscope. The laboratory is at present a centre for war research

Unlike the other Universities of Great Britain, Cambridge has not allowed women to become full members of the University,

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although two women's colleges (Girton and Newnham) were established in the 19th century, and members of those colleges attend University lectures.

Said to be the oldest book shop in England. Bowes of Cambridge has been in the same building for 340 years, and has supplied countless generations of students. Cambridge shopkeepers are frequently scholars

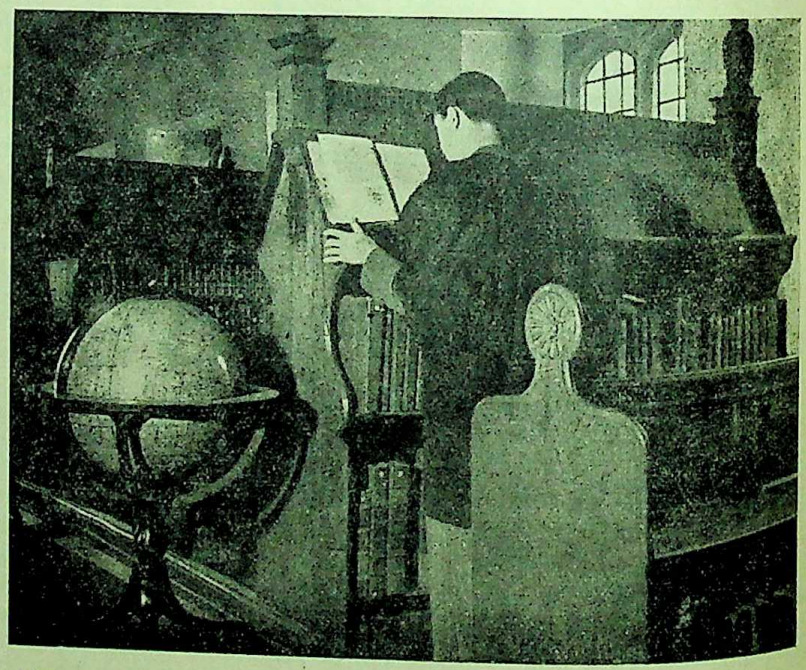
The medieval University of Cambridge, however, consisted not only of colleges, but in addition there were innumerable hostels or lodgings which provided the undergraduate with tuition, society and a common purpose.

Little by little, however, the disciplinary problems provoked by considerable numbers of undergraduates necessitated central control and authority, and the Masters of Art (the teachers) combined to provide this by means of such officials as the Chancellor and the Proctors. As colleges came into being, they naturally supported the forces of law and order, as well as insisting on their own rules and conventions within the college walls. So has grown up a dual system of University and college discipline, authority and privilege.

As a result of successive reforms, the University is now mainly responsible for the provision of lectures and formal instruction in all subjects—both theoretical and practical—while the colleges concern themselves with all the arrangements for housing, feeding and looking after the undergraduates' daily life and routine.

To this end the college authorities see that every undergraduate is under the personal care of one of its members who stands in *loco parentis* to him. To such a man the undergraduate turns for advice in trouble, or before such a man he is summoned if his conduct causes any reason for comment by the authorities, either of his college or of the University.

The college also appoints one of its members to advise and help the undergraduate with his studies. To this end the two meet together for about one hour each week, when the pupil reads to his master some essay which he has prepared, receives comment and criticism of his effort, and can discuss at length any point that arises. At the same time he can ask for help concerning the programme of lectures which the University provides for his instruction. By this dual system of lectures and individual tuition,



This picture shows the chained medieval books in Trinity Hall Library. Trinity Hall is the only Cambridge college to keep the old name of "hall"

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he is enabled to carry on his studies to whatever extent his energy impels him.

The University lecturers are a select body of men and women who are highly proficient in their subjects, and most of whom are actively engaged in research. As a result, there is an ever-present sense of life in most subjects—especially on the science side, where investigators of world-wide renown work in close contact with their students.

Besides the formal professional studies, the University provides incomparable facilities for a more general education. The college buildings, in which all undergraduates live for part at least of their three years' residence, throw men together as they assemble in Hall for dinner, or meet in one another's rooms for hospitality and friendly talk.

This rubbing together of a number of men, all reading different subjects and coming from a wide variety of homes and families is an invaluable educational experience. From these daily contacts and innumerable conversations—grave and gay—something emerges which is not easily expressed in words, and is even less easily evaluated in terms of the market place, but which is the special gift made by Cambridge to her sons.

Out of college, again, there is much to be gained beyond the formal lectures and classes. Cambridge is only little more than an hour from London, so that term-time sees a constant coming and going of Cabinet Ministers, Members of Parliament, leaders of industry, of religion, of trades-unions, etc., who are always ready to come to address meetings of undergraduates. Such meetings may take place at the famous undergraduate Society's headquarters—the Union Society—or may be held under the auspices of one of the many societies which exist to promote various causes. At these, and at other gatherings of a more purely social character, the undergraduate has remarkable opportunities of hearing many leaders of the day in every field of politics, literature, art and the like. He is encouraged to put forward his own views, to help organise societies and meetings, and to make his first efforts at taking a responsible place in society.

In all these activities, the fact that he is living away from home, and as little hampered by the controls of his elders as is compatible with an ordered existence, helps to promote in him an independent and adult attitude which makes residence at the University so much more than a mere acquisition of technical or professional knowledge. On leaving Cambridge, a man who has taken full advantage of these opportunities and of those which are provided by the innumerable sports and games which are available, goes away with an attitude to the world developed in many other aspects than the purely intellectual.

THE PLACE OF INDIAN ART IN THE INDIAN UNIVERSITIES

By O. C. GANGOLY

The topic that has been chosen for me—I should say, thrust upon me by well-meaning friends—for discussion this evening, *viz.*, Indian Art in the Indian Universities is a very embarrassing one. For, the position of Indian Art in most of the universities of India is much that of snakes in Ireland—a very precarious and dubious one. For, excepting in two Universities, Indian Art is not a recognized culture-subject, either as an elective or optional course. And, consequently, the factual data connected with the topic that I am called upon to set forth before you are very few and can be enumerated in a few minutes.

The recitals of these facts are very bald and uninteresting and do not bring credit to our educational experts who plan or carry on the syllabuses of studies at our Indian universities.

I have had the privilege of delivering lectures on Indian Art in most of the universities of India, and I have had some opportunity to study at close quarters the attitude of our universities towards Indian Art—an attitude of a general boycott of the subject and a refusal to recognize any manner of culture-values in the manifestations of Indian Art *qua* Art. In some universities, as in the Benares Hindu University and in the Madras University—there are chairs provided for lectures on Ancient Indian History and Culture, such as the Maharaja Manindra Chunder Nundy Chair of Ancient Indian History and Culture, and the Myers Foundation in the Madras University. But these chairs, like the Carmichael Chair of Ancient Indian History and Culture in the Calcutta University, have almost nothing to do with Indian Art—and are confined to discussions or researches on Political History, Chronology, or Numismatics—and have nothing to do with the History of the Development of Indian Art or

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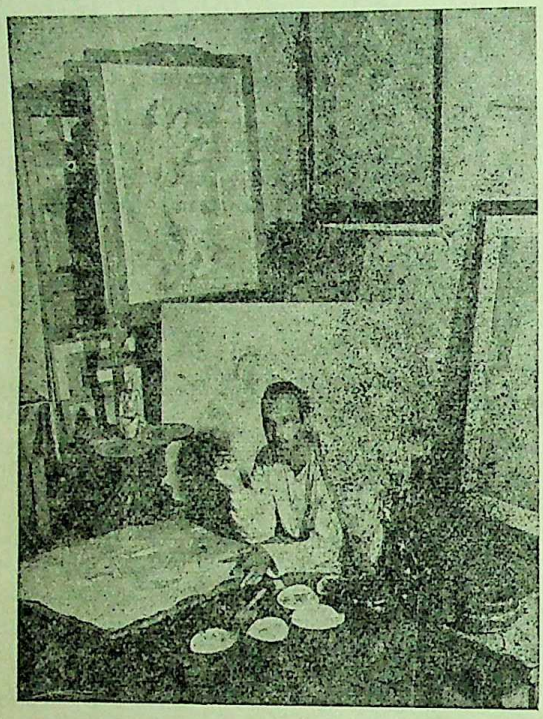
any contact with the aesthetic phases of Indian Ancient Monuments or Masterpieces.

In the Madras University, there is an actual Faculty for the Fine Arts but it has not functioned in the teaching of the Visual Arts—either as a practical subject, or as a theoretical one—in the presentation of the History of Indian Art. It has, however, provided Diploma courses in the teaching of Music—both in its practical and theoretical aspects.



The Principal, Sarada Ukil School of Art, New Delhi

Music is also a subject of teaching and Diploma in the Annamalai University at Chidambaram.

In Bombay there is a very efficient Department of Sociology where occasionally some phases of Indian Art receive attention in the shape of researches. As for instance, a lady graduate is engaged in writing a History of Costumes as gathered from the evidences of the Monuments of Indian Art.

In some of the colleges at Poona, affiliated to the Bombay University, some phases of Indian Archaeology receive attention, but nothing like a systematic History of Indian Art has yet found a place in the courses of study.

It might be claimed that in the courses of study of the General History of India, provided in most or the Indian universities, some acquaintance with ancient monuments or the data of Indian Archaeology may be said to be implied, but the mere acquaintance with chronological data or periods of history does not involve any intimate contact with the aesthetic phases of Indian Art—and our History students, with some rare exceptions, are proverbially insensitive to the beauties of Indian Art *qua* Indian Art and never develop any love for Indian Art in any of its phases. For, the consideration of Dynastic History does not give any opportunity to visualize the aesthetic expressions of the periods in representative masterpieces of the Fine Arts.

As a rule dates, estampages and diggings film the aesthetic judgment of our history-students, and prevent any aesthetic appreciation of any phase of Indian Art.

There is a faculty of Fine Arts provided in the Travancore University . Though some extension lectures on some phases of Indian Art have been delivered sporadically, no systematic study of the subject has yet been developed.

In the Punjab University, there are provisions for practical lessons in painting for the Intermediate and Graduate courses, but there is no provision yet for any teaching of Indian Art.

In the Benares Hindu University a syllabus has been planned for imparting lessons in painting and sculpture generally, and for some acquaintance with the History of Indian Art, but no practical steps have yet been taken to implement the syllabus planned.

Members of the staff, Sarada Ukil School of Art, New Delhi

In the Visva-Bharati University at Santiniketan, there is a special Department for the study of Indian painting and sculpture under the direction of Mr. Nanda Lal Bose, one of the leaders of the modern movement in Indian Art, and artists are given practical training in the principles of Indian Art and their applications in modern forms of expression. But this does not involve any direct contact with the

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masterpieces of ancient Indian Art, or any acquaintance with the systematic development of the history of the various branches of Indian Art.

The Calcutta University has the unique distinction amongst the fourteen Indian universities of providing not only a special chair for the study of Indian Art—known as the Bagisvari Chair of Indian Fine Arts— but also of providing systematic class teaching in the history of Indian Fine Arts through various specially qualified readers and lecturers. And, the history subject for M. A. course in the Calcutta University provides courses of study of Indian Iconography or the science of image-making, painting, sculpture, and architecture as special phases of ancient Indian culture, on the same footing as the study of Indian philosophy and of Sanskrit literature. Students, taking their M. A. degree after the study of Indian Art, sometimes continue their study as Research scholars in Indian Art, taking some special phase of Indian Art for research-thesis. Thus, one student is actually engaged in studying the development and the evolution of various types of Indian pillars as illustrated in the history of Indian architecture, and, another Research-scholar is engaged in studying the significance of the designs of ancient Indian pottery.

The Calcutta University can also claim credit for introducing in its Matriculation syllabus as an optional subject, open to boys as well as to girl students, an appreciation course for the visual arts with special emphasis on Indian Art. It has prescribed a syllabus and also published a text-book setting out the general principles of Art, and the basis and standards of Art appreciation. The same university has also inaugurated a diploma course of art-teaching which include a course of lectures on the general history of Indian Art.

Such is the tearful tale of the position of Indian Art in the history of the Indian universities. On the whole, we must confess, it is, indeed, a dark and dismal picture, unrelieved by any ray of illumination.

I have refrained from any reference to the University of this Imperial city. It has recently been overhauled and re-constituted. But, it has not yet formulated its policy as regards the attitude it should take up towards the study of Indian Art. Delhi has been the epi-centre of Indian Art and Architecture for several centuries. And the patronage that the Moghal Emperors lavished on Indian Art are brilliantly recorded on the shining pages of history. The great traditions which princely patronage and glorious art-practices have helped to build up in this city, appear yet to hover over the spirit of this great city, and seem to be crying for an honoured place in the University of Delhi.

The writer talking to the members of the staff of the School

In the meantime, a word of warm praise is due to this humble Institution founded by a talented artist, the late lamented Mr. Sarada Charan Ukil—for keeping alive the flame of Indian Art burning in the great city of its birth. The resources of this Institution is very limited, but courageous workers whose kind hospitality we are sharing this evening, have bravely kept burning the torch of Indian art—the spiritual principles of which have made rich and original contributions to the art of the world, and which are yet destined to make richer contributions to the new art of to-day, and to the newer art of to-morrow. For it must be remembered that the prmciples of Indian Art are eternal verities and belong not to India alone—but to the whole of humanity.

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* A lecture delivered at the Sarada Ukil School of Art, New Delhi, on 22nd October, 1944.

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THE MALABAR MATRIARCHY

By Prof. KRISHNA PRASANNA MUKERJI, M.A. B.L., D.Phil. (Heidelberg)
Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan

III

C. There can be nothing against the commendable effort for attaining the ideal of monogamy as such, but he will be certainly a stupid reformer and superficial observer of society who would rest contented only when he succeeds in introducing in society just an imitation of the achievement of Christendom in this respect, namely, illegalising more than one lawful consort at a time. Such a legislation ensures neither the realisation of the social ideal of one man for one woman (because in spite of this law people may have any number of mistresses and lovers outside matrimony) nor the moral ideal of chastity untainted by promiscuity. As compared to this the Matriarchal system of Malabar does not inculcate a lower ideal on the social side than the western system with its constant necessity for divorce (often faked up) and hypocrisy (to enable it to keep up the show of a sham monogamy), and on the ethical side it has certainly a higher ideal because here a an and a woman have perfect freedom to vow life-long fidelity and live in chastity which are all the more precious (ethically) because they are not the products of legislative coercion but of human free-will. In face of this it is an unprogressive state of mind which imagines anything to be progressive simply if it happens to possess the stamp of the west to which it has become just fashionable to refer as progressive. I am unable to accept this view.

Regarding the 'individualism' of the West it should suffice here to say that all modern and progressive forces in the world are condemning that indiviualism as a pernicious disease which is held responsible for most of the evils of the modern world. Nay more—endeavours are being made to replace that system of *competitive individualism* by a social order which will be guided by the spirit of *Co-operative Collectivism* (*communism*), which is the very essence and basis of Tarawad matriarchy. Of course, nobody can stop the Malabarians from throwing away their own system if they so desire, but in an age in which co-operation and collectivism (on much larger scale and among much less nearly related social groups than that visualised in the Tarawad system) are being advocated as the two most important items in the programme of social reconstruction by the most progressive section of all the races of the world, it is impossible to admit that the Tarawad system should be rejected on the ground of being unwieldy, antiquated, unnatural or unprogressive. Far from being antiquated and unprogressive, the freedom and influence of women, the absence of such conventions as child marriage and enforced widowhood, the intimacy of the bond of relationships among members of a Tarawad, the opportunity for the cultivation of arts and promotion of higher virtues proclaim in unmistakable terms the excellence of the Malabar system which may be recognised by a posterity as a system much in advance of the one which the Malabarians are trying to borrow.

D. It is however a moot point whether or ot modern democratic societies have become free from all privileges. Be that as it may. Assuming that all privileges are unjust, the questions that directly concern us here are : (a) Is the relation of the Nambudris with Nair women such as would justify calling it a privilege ? and (b) even if it is a privilege, is it necessary to abolish the Malabar family system to destroy this privilege ? As to (a), if the enjoyment of a right by a group in society to the exclusion of others is termed a privilege, then the relation between Nambudris and Nair women is a privilege the enjoyment of which, however, is not absolutely exclusive but is shared with the Nair men. But if the criterion of a privilege is not mere exercise of a special right but the exercise of the right should in addition be *against* the will of the party on which it is exercised or at the cost of which the right is enjoyed or in other words if it is to be exercised through duress or dupery then certainly it is not a privilege at all. The origin of the sexual relation between Nair women and Nambudris did not lie in any one-sided demand of the Nambudris (on Nair women) nor was its continuance possible if it was of the nature of a privilege if by privilege is meant a right exercised by the enjoyer through force or trickery.[22] It is insulting to the intelligence and independence of Nair women and to the sense of honour of chivalry of Nair men to think that the Nambudris just duped the Nair women into a self-surrender which eventually turned them into plaything of the Nambudris' lust and passions while their menfolks remained just mute and helpless witnesses of this humiliating subjugation of their womanhood. It comes from the double mistake of (i) viewing woman as a helpless and easily-led creature and (ii) man under matriarchy as an effeminate and non-interfering dummy. But enough has already been shown from history to convince any unbiased mind that during the hey-day of Matriarchy the Nair woman was a very strong-willed, intelligent and aristocratic person of education and character and not a namby-pamby plaything of masculine frivolity and lust and the Nambudri could come near her only if and when she in the benign majesty and grace of her friendship and love permitted the stranger to approach her. The Nair man also equally conscious of his aristocratic lineage and proud of his social status conceded the Nambudri's visits to the Tarawad because of his worthiness and ability to win the heart of his sisters.

All the facts of history go to show that the Nambudri was there where we find him in the Nair social order because both the Nair woman and her male relations considered him to be a desirable, that is a learned, respectable and honourable fellow. Standard of learning and honour however, differs in different ages but according to the standard of those days the Nambudri must have satisfied his aristocratic (Nair) mistress and her relations before he could get admission in to her home and her heart. If today the standard of education and honour of the Nambudris has deteriorated, by all means, the Nair ladies have every freedom and right to reject him and shower their favours on worthier and more honourable suitors but does that make it necessary for them to discard their system ? This brings us to (b). The degradation (presuming that the Nambudri charac-

22. "When considering the question as to whether polyandry was introduced by the Brahmans among the Nayars for their own selfish ends or is in reality due to their military organisation it may not be out of place to refer to the explanation given as to the origin of the custom by Montaigne in his Essays. He evidently was of opinion that polyandry was introduced because the Nayar leaders like Caesar wayo looked on an 'army of bachelors', as the most effective instrument in war."---Wigram and Moore---Supra, Foot-note on p. 33. The reference here is to the Essays of Michael, Lord Montaigne. translated by John Florio, first published in 1588 in Lubbock's hundred books.

The same view on the origin and continuance of polyandry was supported by Barbosa when he observed:--"And it is said that the kings made this law in order that the Nairs should not be covetous and should not abandon the king's service."---Supra p. 127.

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ter has undergone degradation) of the Nambudris should be no reason for abolishing the Malabar Matriarchy if it is otherwise desirable. If the practice of accepting the Nambudris has solidified into a rigid custom and turned into a blind worship of Nambudris (irrespective of their qualifications) then it is not the fault of the system which gives women such unique freedom of choosing life's companions and of conferring favours on the most desirable males; the fault lies in the character of education which the Nair women are or have been receiving in recent times—an education which obviously does not help a Nair woman in forming independent judgments even on such important matters as the choice of a consort who may exert on her a life-long influence. It shows further that she (the Nair woman) is losing a good bit of that sturdy independence of outlook for which her ancestresses were justly reputed. The corrective, according to enlightened standards of reform, therefore lies not in making her still less independent (by enabling her to hang comfortably on man by demolishing the matriarchal system) but in emphasising (through a really useful system of education) upon the Malabar womanhood the necessity of character and independence of judgment without which they will be unworthy of the freedom (given to them by their system) of deciding themselves the most important problems of their life. For an enlightened womanhood there can be no question of accepting a Nambudri simply because he happens to be a Brahman.

From an examination of the foregoing analysis it will not, I believe, be unwarrantable to draw the following conclusions:—The geographical position of Malabar brought her people (of whom the Nairs were the most distinguished), since very early times, in contact probably with Phoenecians and Babylonians and certainly with Moors, Syrians and Jews. The North-Indian Aryans (specially the Nambudris) were also attracted by the hospitality of Malabar. In all probability some Malabar kings had invited the Brahmans from the north (as in many other non-Aryan tracts the Brahmans were invited by the kings of those regions) being enamoured of the Brahmans' learning, intelligence and culture. Such cultural and commercial contact with the outside world could not have failed to lend to he Malabarians a cosmopolitan (relatively speaking) outlook on life. Then again the necessity of discharging military obligations by the Nairs (who developed into a military aristocracy) helped the evolution of their society on the more natural basis of Matriarchy (authority of the seniormost woman in the family consisting of blood-relations only). This Matriarchy grew up to be the pivot on which the entire social system revolved, and as a natural corollary of which there appeared the unique status of women in society, the like of which is not likely to have been known in any other part of India. Freedom from most male inhibitions and conventional social restrictions were the key-notes of this status. But being a product of natural evolution in a community of free and war-like people, far from encouraging a spirit of levity and vulgarity among women and of license and effeminacy among men it helped the promotion in society of virtues like self-help, courage, fidelity, honour, chivalry, courtesy, mutual regard and the cultivation of arts like gymnastic, dancing, music, etc.

With the introduction of foreigners in society he women were afforded one more opportunity of exercising their freedom of choice of their male companions, nd this, as is expected from women of aristocracy, character and independence, they exercised with courage ombined with foresight and caution. The Nambudri Brahmans though (in those early days) mere immigrants[23] were not to the same degree foreign to them as, say, the Moors, the Jews or the Christians. They bore the stamp of the same old Indian culture (which was the Nairs' own) and in learning, intelligence, appearance, character and other qualifications highly deserving and as such they began to receive the same treatments and favours from the Nair ladies as heir own kinsmen (the Nairs) themselves.

But the ease with which it was possible for the free-born Nair ladies to express their willingness to ffer the Nambudris a place in their social order was not the same with which the Nambudris could accept the honour involved in that magnanimous and large-hearted offer. The Nambudri carried with him the customs and onventions of the rigid patriarchal social order. His women lost their chastity at the thought of a second marriage; she was a dependent and looked up for everything on her male relations. The maintenance of a continuous line of male agnates was to him a religious duty; nd with all this had to be reconciled the generous ffer of the Nair ladies. The result was a thorough reconstruction of the Nambudri's family life which in its altered form presented the following among its main features:—(a) Reservation of the eldest brother for maintaining the continuity of the line of agnates and so he (the eldest brother) alone was allowed to unite in marriage (with a woman of the same caste) which had the incidents of a Hindu marriage and he alone was to inherit the family property, (b) the other brothers were usually debarred from marriage and inheritance but were allowed to form extra-martial sexual alliances with Non-Brahman women, (c) greater degree of impartibility of family property (following the Nair practice), (d) absence of son's liability for father's debts (even if the purpose was neither illegal nor immoral). These were obvious modifications[24] of the Nambudri's original laws and practices which he was forced to concede in order to be able to better fit in with the environment of his land of adoption (Malabar) and in this compulsion, if any, came from the Nair to the Nambudri and not vice versa. It is arrogating too much power and intelligence to the immigrant Nambudris and crediting him with too much intelligence and imputing too much weakness to Nair character to imagine that the Nambudris introduced polyandry (and hence the Matriarchal system) among the Nairs for their selfish ends. In particular cases some clever and mischievous Nambudris might have taken undue advantage of some exceptionally stupid Nair girls' maidenly simplicity but such duping of the fair sex is not unknown among patriarchal societies where full-fledged marriage is made to be the *sine qua non* of any sexual alliance.

With the gradual loss of political independence the Malabarians (Nairs as well as the Nambudris) deteriorated mentally and morally along with the rest of India. English education and free intercourse (now made possible by the facilities of communication) with Northern India made modern individualism and monogamous (patriarchal) families appear in the Nair eye more desirable things. This hankering after the patriarchal family bore in its core an innate prejudice against matriarchy. We have tried to show that these prejudices being what they are, are false but the deterioration of the people which promoted the growth of these prejudices is perhaps not quite so unreal. The logical corrective therefore lies not in destroying Matriarchy but in stopping the causes of the racial deterioration of which Matriarchy certainly could not have been one because, as we have seen before, in the hey-day of matriarchy Malabar was quite a strong, free, progressive and prosperous province;—indeed, according to Marco Polo, "the fairest and noblest in the world."

But it may be argued that the Matriarchal system does not allow Malabarians to adapt themselves to the

23. I do not know if there is any authentic history relating to the migration of the Brahmans to Malabar.

24. "They were governed by Hindu Law modified by special customs which they had adopted since their settlement in Malabar." —Vasudevan vs. The Secretary of State for India. I. L. R-XI Mad.

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conditions of modern life, that system being suitable (if at all) to medieval conditions. I have no knowledge as to what extent the Matriarchal system is incapable of adapting itself to modern conditions of life. But presuming that it suffers to some extent from such a defect may it not be possible to modify the old system to the extent of its unworkability under modern conditions and maintain its essential features? On the other hand it might have become totally unfit to keep pace with modern times. If that is really so there is no use hugging an institution which has out-lived its usefulness and then the Malabarians will be certainly justified in discarding it off as unsuited to their present-day needs. But if that must be done, I believe, it can be done without either giving it (the system) a bad name or without imputing to Nambudris evil and dishonourable motives. In other words, if it must, let the Malabar Matriarchy go, but let it go with good grace, if evidence of history shows that it is deserving of that grace. That historical evidence is in its favour has, I believe, been shown in the foregoing pages. If then it is still found necessary to abolish the Matriarchal system of Malabar because it no longer serves any useful purpose, let not its past achievements be slighted or overlooked because of its inability to cope with the present-day world and its complex problems. If it is dead, it must be buried, but can it not demand a decent burial?

(Concluded)

DESTITUTION AT CONTAI THANA, MIDNAPUR

By RAMKRISHNA MUKHERJEE, M. Sc.

Introduction

This note is the outcome of an investigation of the problems of destitution at Contai Thana, Midnapur. The statistical data are presented here in the simplest way possible for the general readers. The Friends Ambulance Unit which is carrying on relief work admirably at Contai since the Midnapur cyclone in 1942 approached Prof. K. P. Chattopadhyay, Head of the Department of Anthropology, Calcutta University, in the beginning of this year to conduct an enquiry at Contai to give them an idea of the condition of the people and the type of relief necessary as well as the major problems to be faced in any rehabilitation scheme. They were supervising and managing a few destitute camps at and near about Contai and so were in urgent need of such data for proper relief work and successful rehabilitation of the destitutes. Prof. Chattopadhyay requested the Calcutta Statistical Laboratory to spare me for a short period to conduct the survey and he Laboratory very kindly consented to the proposal.

Method of Field Work

So in last February we conducted an enquiry in the two destitute camps at Mahisagot and Basantia, two small villages within six miles of the Contai town, managed by the Friends Ambulance Unit. The field work was done by me with the help of four college students from Contai town. These gentlemen were properly trained up by me beforehand. We collected our information from all the destitutes staying in the camp excepting a few who being very young children could not give reliable information and they had no relations or neighbours in the camps who could speak for them. However, they were about only ten in number and neglecting them we have studied 246 destitutes who well remember the property they have lost and also the details of their past life. Hence our data may be regarded to be fairly representative and also reliable.

Destitutes in Contai

The destitutes came to the camp in a variety of ways. Some came from the neighbouring villages voluntarily; in some cases families completely stranded and thrown out in the streets came to the camp from a distance; some again were collected by the military authorities and handed over to the destitute camp.

From the tabular statement of the destitutes it will be seen that they have come to the camp from 79 different villages, all of course within 15-20 miles from Contai town Table 1 gives an account of the families and the number of villages they came from. This grouping shows that while generally speaking the majority of the villages were represented by not more than two families there are 9 villages which were represented by more than 5 families each, the largest number being from a village called Patapukuria which is represented by 17 families. This grouping, however, does not give us any idea as to the intensity of distress in the different villages. Contai has become one vast destitute camp and very little can be inferred about the distress in a certain village by visiting one camp. It may have just happened that these villages were represented in large numbers being nearer to the camps than the others.

Since the destitutes came to the camps from a considerable number of villages any bias regarding any particular village must have been eliminated. Therefore, our study may be considered to be a fairly good sample survey of the destitutes of Contai Thana area.

The Destitutes

The destitutes we studied were 246 in number. Table 2 shows that out of 246 destitutes studied 159 or 65 per cent were below the age of 15, and of the rest of the population 74 or about 30 per cent were adult females, of whom again nearly half were widows. Thus 95 per cent of the destitutes in the camps are either women or children. This preponderance of women and children, as we found out from the destitutes, is mainly due to two reasons,—(i) families who lost their male members came to the camp, (ii) in many cases the male members who could not provide for their wife and children sent them off to the camp while they themselves stuck to the village or moved about here and there in search of food.

We cannot find the cause of destitution and suggest rehabilitation measures unless we study the destitutes in relation to their family and the rural life they lived, that is, their position in the society. So the account of the destitutes we give henceforth will always be in relation to their family and village which will incidentally give an indication of the deterioration of rural life during the period.

The Destitutes in Relation to Family and Society

The 246 destitutes we studied belong to 159 families, some families being represented by more than one of its members. An analysis of the destitute families by age and sex (Table 3) reveals that 159 families covered a population of 657 men, women, and children. It means, on the average, a family of 4 to 5 members. Of this 657, 55 per cent are males and 45 per cent are females. The composition of various age grades are: children (male) 25 per cent, children (female) 20 per cent, adult (male) 26 per cent, and adult (female) 23 per cent. These are the proportions in the sample before cyclone in normal times.

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How far will this sample survey give us any idea about the general population? We do not know what percentage of the population became destitutes. All we can say is that the destitutes form the most affected strata of the population in the villages. As our sample is an unbiassed sample it will give us some idea as to the general condition of the destitutes and an index of their suffering. Further we shall try to show that the destitutes came from a strata that can be more or less defined from several angles,—(i) their economic position. (ii) their social position, (iii) their place in production.

Position of Destitute Families in Village Society

Our first attempt at defining this strata of the population is by an analysis of their caste. Caste it is true does not give us an idea of the real social position now as acurately as it used to do but a caste analysis is useful for several reasons.

1. Generally speaking, even now professions are alloted to people in the village by caste.

2. The economically lower strata of the population not always but generally belong to the socially lower castes.

In table 4 we give an analysis of the caste of the destitute families. The higher castes like Brahmin, etc., are practically unrepresented. The overwhelming majority of the families studied belong to the castes which are generally associated with agriculture, craft and manual labour. Thus Mahishyas or Kaibartas, who form 54 per cent of the whole list are agriculturists. The bulk of the remaining families belong to castes like Hari, Muchi, Tanti, Teli, Jugi, etc., who are village artisans or labourers. The higher castes of the village are not usually associated with this strata which by reason of their caste form the lower strata of society.

Table 5 gives us an analysis of the destitute families by classifving them according to the cultivable land they possess. This is justified since the rural life in Bengal is based on agrarian economy. It can be seen from the Table that 64 per cent of the destitute families owned no land even in normal times (September 1942). The Kishans who owned an insufficient quantity between one bigha (0·5 acre) and 3 bighas (1·5 acre) constitute 30 per cent of the destitute families. Those owning more than 1·5 acres but less than 2·5 acres form 4 per cent and above 4 acres but less than 5 acres of land was owned by a bare 1 per cent. Only one solitary case was that of a man who owned 14 acres. Thus the conclusion we can draw from this is :

1. That the large majority of rural families who turned destitutes generally belong to that strata of the village which owns no land or very little land.

2. Quite a number of Kishan families who own 5 to 6 bighas (about 3 acres) of land and so may be classed as middle peasantry have been severely affected and forced to turn into destitutes.

3. As a group, none of the rural families holding land above 3 acres or so have been affected. It shows that they are immune to the food crisis.

4. The average land owned by the Kishans who turned destitute is 1·2 acres or 2 bighas if we exclude from the average the large number who did not possess any land. Including them the average comes down to ·39 acres, a little above one bigha.

Considering the importance of land in village economy this analysis, more than the caste, confirms our opinion that the destitutes came from the lowest and to some extent from the middle strata of the village people.

Our third attempt at identifying this group is by their profession in normal times. From table 6 it is clear that it is a part of the working population we are concerned with. The most essential primary activities in village life are listed in the table. Labour (which in practically all the cases means agricultural labour) and agriculture, that is farming in one's own land, combined with any other are the two chief occupations noted down. In normal times (September 1942) they claimed 160 of a total of 248 productive earners. Thus 64 per cent of the men in productive occupations among the destitute families were engaged in the primary occupation of agriculture and of the rest 28 per cent engaged in crafts, 5 per cent in domestic service, and the rest 3 per cent in other forms of work, like laundry, etc. Among the professions mentioned "liberal arts", "shopkeeping," etc. are not represented at all. Both liberal arts and shopkeeping or other jobs of middle men require either more capital to start the job or to learn the professions, like teaching, etc. and the strata that became destitutes could not afford these amenities.

It may be mentioned here that Table 6 gives us another glimpse into the economic condition of those who became destitutes :

1. The huge number of labourers sharply differentiated from those who combine agriculture and labour shows the acute land crisis.

2. The huge army of unproductive earners, quite a number being men. This also points to the extremely desperate condition of these people even in normal times.

We can now briefly summarise our position.

Our caste analysis of the destitute families, property classification, and analysis of profession, all prove that these destitutes did not come from all classes of people in the village but from a distinct stratum of village population.

This stratum is the poorest and most hard-working; even normally this stratum of the people lives in extremely poor conditions.

This stratum includes both agriculturists and artisans. It includes both the rural proletariat and the next upper grade, the lower, and to some extent the middle peasantry.

These people are placed in the most important position in village life—production.

Can we have any idea as to what portion of the rural population they comprise of? This we can get from the Floud Commission Report of Bengal according to which 54 per cent of the rural families in the Midnapur district hold up to 3 acres of land which indicates that our study covers more than half the village population and so the intensity of their distress and the problems of their rehabilitation in consequence will surely be a good pointer to the estimation of the distress in the villages as a whole. Since the destitutes have come from a good many different villages the data may be accepted as fairly representative of Contai police station area as a whole with regard to the effect of the food crisis on the rural population.

Factors Leading to Destitution

Loss of Property : To measure the intensity of suffering of these people we may start with the loss of property they sustained. Loss of property is selected as an index as it will give us the best idea of the condition through which they passed and the condition they have arrived at. A word here is necessary as to the significance of different forms of property to a rural family. The most valued property is the homestead land, the dwelling site. So long as there is a piece of land the family is sure of shelter. Next in importance is the cultivable land. Being the only principal source of income it is valued only second to dwelling site. Third comes the livestock which supply essential animal labour without which the principal occupation—agriculture—will stop. After these there comes utensils and ornaments. These two are generally the little reserve in hand which is used in emergency. A peasant who has lost ornaments and even livestock still entertains some hope of recovery through strenuous labour. One losing land slips into the class of day labourers and one losing his homestead becomes a pauper.

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A rough glance through the table 7 which gives us a record of the property they owned and have lost now is enough to establish several facts.

1. Ornaments, utensils and livestocks have been lost by practically all the destitutes.

2. 28 per cent have lost all their cultivable land and another 32 per cent lost part of their land (Table 7B). 19 per cent have lost even their homestead and are now beggars with no shelter. (Table 7A).

3. The loss in livestock is most appalling. While formerly 115 families or 72 per cent owned cattle now only 20 or 17 per cent own cattle and total number of cattle now is 14 per cent of its former strength.

4. Thus while all of them lost their liquid asset about half of them lost their land. While average possession of these families was 1 acre, now it has become 0·6 acre. While formerly 58 in 159 or 36 per cent owned land now 39 or 25 per cent owns some land and 10 per cent of the total number of families have lost all land. Thus both in total acreage and in the number of families holding land considerable change has taken place. The periodical analysis in table 5 shows how class range of land holding gradually grew smaller and more and more peasants joined the rank of landless labour. The middle peasants having from 0·5 to 2·5 acres suffered very acutely regarding loss of land. Thus while the landless peasant could not sell because they had none those who had land were forced to sell and join the former class. The former class in the meanwhile could only submit to the natural consequences of want.

Indebtedness : Economic loss to be properly measured must include the standing debts which may be assumed to be a charge on the remaining asset. Table 8 gives a list of the debts of the families. It shows 42 families still in debt and the extent of debts is Rs. 2,599 in February 1944 which to be paid must swallow a considerable amount of land or any other form of property still left over. The table on debts however apart from being a supplement is not to be taken as a good index. It does not correctly represent the needs and real liabilities of these families because,

1. There is an obvious underestimation. Many destitutes being children or women could not give us accurate information regarding the amount of debts incurred by the male members of family.

2. Money-lenders being afraid of the interference of the Debt Settlement Board sometimes refuse to give loans to the villagers specially when the debtor is poor and has not enough assets to repay the loan.

Change of Occupation : Table 9 which gives us a three period record of the occupation of the destitutes. shows how the cyclone and food crisis affected their occupations.

We have already mentioned that in the period before cyclone that is even in normal times generally speaking the landless labourers and along with them the agriculturists who having very little land were forced to seek employment were the largest majority. Out of 196 (adult and o'd) male population 130 or 66 per cent were always crowding the village market offering their labour.

In the period immediately after cyclone, that is in February 1943 the number of earners in the Labour group increased by 11 per cent, while the groups with agriculture as the only or one of the occupations and craft came down by 87 and 61 per cent, and the number in he unproductive group swelled up by 100 per cent from 18 to 37.

Similarly after the food crisis, in February 1944 though the 'Labour' group shows a considerable decrease in strength in comparison to the period before, yet this is the group which represents the greatest number of productive earners. The number of unproductive earners has risen to a staggering height, it being nearly equal in proportion to all the productive earners put together. The number of earners in the agri-Labour groups and craft have come down still more.

How did this happen ? We have already noted that in our sample regarding the agricultural groups we are mainly concerned with the lower peasantry. These people to avert the natural consequence of the cyclone and the food crisis sold off the little land they had and thus tried to save themselves by slipping over to Labour or the unproductive group, or by emigration to try their luck elsewhere. If they could not thus save themselves they died. The people in other occupational groups also e. haved similarly. When their usual occupations, like craft, became temporarily obsolete in the abnormal condition they either tried to save themselves by taking up Labour or Unproductive occupations (that is, begging) or emigrated. or died. Thus the total number of earners have come down from 246 in September 1942 to 123 in February 1944, a reduction of 54 per cent, 23 per cent being due to cyclone and 31 per cent due to food crisis.

By trying to measure their distress we found that the destitutes who formally were poor hard-working peasants have lost their property to a large extent, and simultaneously lost their occupations. Out of 248 working members only a poor 69 remains. We shall try now to show the effect of this economic loss on them and in the village society where they occupy a key position.

Physical Extinction : The destitutes, in our previous analysis we saw, came from a stratum that carried on a hand to mouth existence and have very little resource to fight any emergency or disaster. To such a group the loss of their sole source of income—their labour power through ill-health translated from economic to human terms mean one thing only—Death.

Table 9A gives us record of all the deaths that took place between September 1942 (after cyclone) and February 1944. In all 95 families were affected by death (not shown in the Table) and the total death was 191. It means therefore that 60 per cent of the families suffered the loss of one or more of its members, and there was on an average two deaths per family. Table shows that death-rate for the period of cyclone disaster (September 1942-February 1943) was 12 per cent. For the food-crisis period, (that is. Mar. 1943-Nov. 1944), it was 15 per cent, and for the epidemic period (December 1943-February 1944) which is the shortest period of the three it was 7 per cent. Thus the average annual death-rate is 22 per cent.

A closer analysis of the death-rate reveals the following facts:—

1. Death-rate of children below 5 was 38 per cent for the whole period of one year five months, being higher by 9 per cent from the general death-rate. (Table 9B).

2. Death-rate for adult male was 11 per cent higher than the general death-rate.

3. Death-rate for adult women was considerably lower being a little less than the general death-rate.

4. Generally speaking death-rates were higher during the food-crisis than at any other time.

If we analyse this staggering figure more closely we can to some extent separate the deaths directly due to cyclone and its after-effects from deaths in the last food-crisis. It is of course difficult to do so as the cyclone has deeply upset the normal balance of the villages. Any way of the 191 deaths 79 or 41 per cent took place during September 1942-February 1943 which may generally be called the cyclone period. But even during this period as seen in Table 9(C) the majority of deaths was due not to cyclone but to epidemic and under-nourishment. It fully reveals how inadequate was the help that was given after the cyclone. During this period Malaria was raging already as an epidemic here. Starvation deaths was already entering the field and carried off 6 directly and 5 through Dropsy which often is a case of starvation, and bad food. But when food crisis became more acute (March-November 1943) starvation became enemy No. 1 and directly carried off 34 per cent of those who died in this period. Dropsy was also on the increase and malaria and other diseases may be said to be half starvation and half disease.

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With the harvest that came in December 1943 the situation temporarily improved but the explosive situation was not abolished. This is proved by the 3rd period table where malaria, cholera. etc., have broken out while starvation figure is dropping.

The effect of the large number of mortality among adult males meant a further crippling of these families economically. Table 10 shows that out of 159 families 64 families, that is 40 per cent, were badly hit by a direct reduction of their earning capacity. Of these 12 families or 7 per cent were completely crippled, and 41 or 26 per cent were almost wholly crippled. Thus 53 per cent of the families lost their leading earners through death. Therefore death aggravated the problem hundredfold and more and more families were forced on to the streets.

Destitution

The total effect on the villages of the food crisis can now be assessed from several facts. The table on occupation clearly shows how the centre of gravity f village life was for a time completely upset and people who normally carried on the productive life of the village first crowded the village market and then as their health became worse and the village market failed to employ them they became semi-paupers. As semi-paupers they could not get a living inside the villages and therefore they started roaming from village to village in search of food or job. Table 11 gives us a picture of the destitution. It shows that out of 657 persons 253 (39 per cent) had to come out of their village in search of food, of whom 246 are in the destitute camps. Those who died outside the villages (as far as that could have been ascertained from the destitutes questioned) are not included in this. Thus from the original population of 657 persons a poor 216 or 33 per cent remained in the villages (Table 12). This picture again shows how social life was torn apart by the food crisis. Of this emigrating population 141 were under 15 and 69 were adult women. Thus generally mothers left the villages with their children while the fathers and adult men stuck on. This disruption of family life has created another big social problem for our people.

The desperate position to which a peasant arrives when he decides to leave the village or break up the family can also be appreciated from the table 11. It shows that the largest number left the village during December 1943-February 1944 period and not when the trouble started. While after the cyclone only 50 in all left the village during March-November 1943 68 left and during December 1943-February 1944 as many as 135 were outside the village. The table on loss of property shows that by this time they had completely exhausted their assets and found no other way but the road before them. The reluctance of people in Bengal to stay in hospitals or Homes is well-known. and we often found cases where even half starved villagers refused to leave his hut. But when the alternative was death they had to leave.

Problems of Repatriation and Rehabilitation

We stated earlier that the aim of the enquiry was to clarify the problems of repatriation and rehabilitation. The destitute camps cannot be run for all times and so the destitutes must be repatriated and this should be done as soon as possible. Table 13 shows that out of 159 destitute families studied the members of 55 in the camps, that is, 34 per cent think that they may be repatriated by their nearest relatives, like father, brother, husband, etc., while of the rest 101, that is, 64 per cent are not very hopeful regarding repatriation. For those women and children who cannot be repatriated the following measures may be suggested :

1. The children should be sent to the Orphanages.
2. The women are to be trained in some rural occupations, so that, they can go back to their villages and live without depending on any one.

As we found out, husking paddy and preparations of grains from other agricultural produces, like pulse, etc., are the most familiar form of occupation for these women. So centres for husking paddy, milling pulse, etc., may be opened to provide the women with different forms of work in different agricultural seasons. Besides that, there are many women belonging to the castes of weaver and tailor. These women may be trained up in the respective professions, if they are not acquainted with it already and weaving and tailoring centres may be opened. We came to know from the destitutes that preparing nets from cotton thread is also a popular occupation in this locality, so this work can also be taken up. It is a profitable occupation with enough demand in present times in the form of camouflage nets and fishing nets. Over and above, other cottage industries, like spinning, paper-making, basketry making, etc., may be taken up which are of considerable importance in present times. One word of caution is here necessary as to the employment of the destitutes in particular occupation. The destitutes should always be employed in that form of occupation which is either the traditional one or which she does not mind taking up, otherwise, she will never stick to it and will give it up at the first chance she gets when a little better off. Thus, basketry making is an occupation carried on by the low caste Hindus, like the Bauris, the Bagdis, etc. Woman belonging to other Hindu castes may learn it in the destitute camps but it is very doubtful whether they will carry it on in the village.

In this way the problem of women and children who cannot be repatriated may be solved. But the rehabilitation measures will not be successful, neither in case of these nor in case of those repatriated unless proper relief in food and medicine be carried on simultaneously for the following reasons:—

1. The destitutes who cannot be repatriated have no stock of food. Besides these individuals, even those who will be repatriated cannot carry on. Because, as we have already found out the strata of the rural population from which the destitutes have come were affected by the food crisis in the last year mainly due to the fact that they had never a sufficient reserve of food in their own possession. Usually they buy rice from the market or get advances of paddy from the Jotedars and zemindars. But last year they could ot get any advance from these people and bought food at an absurd price. This year also they face the same problem. This stratum is bound to come to the market or to the zeminder after exhausting their meagre produce.

The distress is further intensified by the fact that 50 per cent of their land remained fallow last year as shown in Table 15 and therefore their stock position is worse than of last year. Last year was a bumper year for whole of Bengal but the rural poor did not get much benefit out of it in Contai. Out of 24·72 acres which is the total holding for these 159 families 12·78 or more than 50 per cent remained fallow due to various reasons (Table 14).

2. The destitutes and also the family nembers of these who will be repatriated have all been devitalised to a great extent by the crisis and epidemic is raging in various forms. So if proper medical relief is not run the death rate will be even higher than in the last year.

Repatriation is not like establishing a new colony but putting back a people to its former position. This means that destitutes must go back to their former place in rural life. But unless rural life itself is revived such a repatriation becomes a farcical procedure. Rehabilitation of rural life becomes therefore he precondition for successful repatriation. Unfortunately this study cannot suggest the rehabilitation measures in details for the obvious reason that the villages have not been studied.

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However, from our analysis it is clear that the food crisis did not come all on a sudden as an act of God. It is really speaking an intensification of the acute state of the rural economy, specially with regard to the position of land distribution. The annual consumption of rice for 4 to 5 members in a family, the usual size of a simple biological family in Bengal, are 20·25 mds. (4·5 mds. per capita) approximately. To produce that amount a peasant family must have at least 2·5 acres; and we found that in our sample only a few persons possess 2·5 acres or more land. Further he has other bare necessities to manage. In normal years they manage it partly by being on semi-starvation level for several months, partly by working as a day-labourer and partly by taking land on a share-basis from some rich Jotedar who rents out land on a basis of 50 per cent crop for the peasant and 50 per cent for the landlord. Towards the end of the season the landowner advances some crop also as a loan to the hard-pressed cultivator and gets it back with 50 per cent interest from the next crop.

On such a highly strained system the food crisis and cyclone of last year came. It broke up the little stability that this system had by further increasing the landless and making the land distribution more top-heavy. From our table we saw that over and above those who never had any land 25 per cent lost all lands they possessed and another 25 per cent lost part of their land during the crisis. This means that a chronic famine will affect this stratum of the rural population and wipe them out every year unless t least the old balance is brought back again. This is bound to happen because we will have now an even larger majority of the villagers going without any land to till and they will not be able profitably to employ themselves as day labourers for more than two or three months during harvest time and the period of cultivation. Having no land of their own they will have no stock from which to support themselves for the rest of the year. They have also sold their last reserve property long ago. They will therefore be forced to starve unless they get back their land. Thus famine or no famine, black marketing or none, they will be forced to remain unemployed for a long period on starvation diet. Therefore the problem of real rehabilitation must answer boldly this crying need,—transfer of land, otherwise the moment charity is stopped the peasants or at least a big part of them will have to starve.

There are other problems to be faced with the agrarian crisis; such as (i) there is a considerable shortage of plough cattle, (ii) the men have not got the health for strenuous jobs and without adequate food they will not be able even to till their soil thus producing a chronic famine. Hence relief in food is all the more necessary for them.

Our occupation table revealed earlier that along with the lower strata of Kishans, the village atrisans—weavers, carpenters, teli or oil-pressers, etc., are steadily being wiped out by the food crisis. The problem for these people are :

(1) They have lost part of their market as the growing impoverishment of the peasants have forced them to spend as little as possible on anything else.

(2) During food crisis last year they also had to give up their liquid assets, their capital and their implements. The result is that they are not only being physically annihilated but the little self-sufficiency that villagers had regarding clothes, etc., is being destroyed.

Our table on occupation revealed that while formerly 21 per cent of earners were artisans now a bare 8 per cent eke out a miserable existence on their craft. This class also must go back to their normal occupation and relieve the land from extra pressure which they must be giving to it now. By withdrawing from cultivation and day labour they will not only ease the acute condition existing there but fulfil some essential needs of the village. For them restoration of their implements and some advances from time to time till they are settled down is essential before they can pull up.

These are the big problems which face us in any serious scheme of Rehabilitation. These are urgent problems that must be faced and that quickly. Or else this time this entire stratum of the village population will be literally annihilated. And Contai cannot survive if this stratum dies. Annihilation of this working peasantry of Contai will mean the end of Contai.

Table 1. *Showing the number of villages from which the members of the destitute camps have come.*

(The destitutes have been considered under the family units they formed in each village)

Number of villages	Number of family-units
1	17
1	10
2	7
3	6
2	5
1	4
3	3
7	2
59	1
79	159

Table 2. *Showing the sex, age, and civil condition of the destitutes in the camp.*

	Sex and civil condition											
	Male			*Female*			*Total*			*p.c. of total destitutes (246)*		
Age-grade	Single	Married	Widowed	Single	Married	Widowed	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
0—15	86			65	6	2	86	73	159	35	30	65
15—50	7	4	1		40	34	12	74	86	5	30	35
above 50						1		1	1			
Total	93	4	1	65	46	37	98	148	246	40	60	100

Table 3. *Showing the sex, age and civil condition of the destitute families in normal times, September, 1942 (before cyclone).*

	Sex and civil condition											
	Male			*Female*			*Total*			*p.c. of total population (657)*		
Age-grade	Single	Married	Widowed	Single	Married	Widowed	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
0—15	166			111	17	3	166	131	297	25	20	45
15—50	48	107	16		81	70	171	151	322	26	23	49
above 50		23	2		2	11	25	13	38	4	2	6
Total	214	130	18	111	100	84	362	295	657	55	45	100

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Table 4. *Distribution of destitute families by community, caste and sect.*

Community	Cast or sect	Family
MUSLIM	Shiah	1
	Sunni	3
HINDU	Brahmin	1
	Shakra (Goldsmith)	2
"	Sutradhar (Carpenter)	1
"	Napit (Barber)	2
"	Dhubi (Washerman)	4
"	Teli (Oilmiller)	2
"	Muchi (Leather worker)	1
"	Hari "	12
"	Jelia (Fisherman)	4
"	Mali (Gardener)	1
"	Tanti (Weaver)	22
"	Mahisya (Kaibarta)	86
"	Other low castes	17
"		

Table 5. *Showing the range of cultivable land owned by the destitute families in different periods.*

Range of land in	Sept. 1942 Fami-	p.c. to total	Feb. 1943 Fami-	p.c. to total	Feb. 1944 Fami-	p.c. to total
acres	lies	(159)	lies	(159)	lies	(159)
0	101	64	111	70	121	76
0—0·5	27	17	30	19	28	17
0·5—1·0	15	9	10	6	8	5
1·0—1·5	7	4	4	3	1	1
1·5—2·0	1	1				
2·0—2·5	5	3	2	1	1	1
2·5—3·0						
3·0—4·0			2	1		
4·0—5·0	2	1				
Above 5·0	1	1				

Table 6. *Showing the source of livelihood of the members of the destitute families in the three periods.*

Source of livelihood	Earners Sept. 1942 Male	Female	Feb. 1943 Male	Female	Feb. 1944 Male	Female	Total number of earners Sept. '42	Feb. '43	Feb. '44	p.c. total productive earners Sept. '42	Feb. '43	Feb. '44
Agriculture	12		4		1		12	4	1	5	2	1
Agriculture & labour	17		2		3		17	2	3	7	1	4
Agriculture & others	18						18			7		
Labour	109	4	115	11	44	1	113	126	45	45	75	65
Craft	32	37	15	12	8	2	69	27	10	28	16	15
Domestic service	8	4	4	2	7		12	6	7	5	4	11
Miscellaneous	6	1	3	1	3		7	4	3	3	2	4
Productive total	202	46	143	26	66	3	248	169	69	100	100	100
Unproductive	5	13	16	21	26	28	18	37	54			
Grand total	207	59	159	47	92	31	266	206	123			
p.c. of unproductive occupations to grand total							7	18	44			

Table 7 (A) *Showing the assets of the destitute families in different periods.*

Assets	Family units concerned Sept. '42	Feb. '43	Feb. '44	Particulars of assets Sept. '42	Feb. 43	Feb. 44	p.c. of loss (Sept. 42-Feb. 44) Families	Assets
Cultivable Land (acreage)	58	48	39	63	29	25	33	60
Homestead Land "	110	99	89	27	15	14	19	48
Livestock (Number)	115	28	20	231	43	32	83	86
Ornaments (wt. in tola)	99	42	24	1868	721	172	76	90
Utensils (Number)	124	46	23	1079	372	151	81	86

Table 7 (B) *Showing in details the loss of cultivable land by the destitute families.*

	Families holding land in Sept. 42	Families losing in toto Sept. '42-Feb. '43	Mar. '43-Feb. '44	Families losing in part Sept. '42-Feb. '43	Mar. '43-Feb '44
Sample	58	5	11	13	6
Percentage	—	9	19	22	10

Table 8 *Showing the outstanding loans of the destitute families.*

Nature of debt	Indebted families Sept. '42	Feb. '43	Feb. '44	Amount of loan in Rs. Sept. '42	Feb. '43	Feb. '44	Loan per indebted families Sept. '42	Feb 43	Feb 44
Secured	3	6	7	55	105	130	18	68	19
Unsecured	15	35	40	1354	2274	2469	90	65	62
Total	18	39	42	1409	2379	2599	78	61	62

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Table 9 (A) *Showing the death rate of the population among different age-grades in different periods.*

Period	Population in the beginning					incidence of deaths					Death rate per 100 of the population				
	Child (0-15)	Adult (15-50) Male	Adult (15-50) Female	Old (Above 50)	Total	Child	Adult Male	Adult Female	Old	Total	Child	Adult Male	Adult Female	Old	Total
Sept. '42-Feb. '43	297	171	151	38	657	26	27	19	7	79	9	16	13	18	12
March '43-Nov. '43	248	134	117	29	528	22	32	17	10	81	9	24	15	35	15
Dec. '43-Feb. '44	214	101	99	15	429	14	9	5	3	31	7	9	5	20	7
Sept. '42-Feb. '44	297	171	151	38	657	62	68	41	20	191	21	40	27	53	29

Table 9 (B) *Showing the infant mortality in relation to the average death during the whole period of Sept. '42-Feb. '44.*

Age-grade	Population in Sept. '42	Incidence of deaths	p.c. of deaths to total population	Avreage death rate
0—5	60	23	38	29
5—10	125	22	18	29
10—15	112	22	20	29

Table 10 *Showing deaths of the earning members in the family.*

Economic position of the earners dead	Family unit concerned	P.C. of all families (159)
Leading earner	41	26
Working dependant	11	7
Leading earner and working dependant	12	7
Total	64	40

Table 9 (C) *Showing the cause of death in different periods under different age-grades.*

Cause of deaths	Sept. 1942 - Feb. 1943					March 1943 - Nov. 1943					Dec. 1943 - Feb. 1944					Sept. 1942 - Feb. 1944				
	0-15	15-50	50 up	Total	P.C.	0-15	15-50	50 up	Total	P.C.	0-15	15-50	50 up	Total	P.C.	0-15	15-50	50 up	Total	P.C.
Starvation	1	5	—	6	8	5	18	5	28	34	2	2	1	5	16	8	25	6	39	20
Malaria	18	24	4	46	58	12	13	2	27	33	10	3	1	14	45	40	40	7	87	46
Dropsy	3	2	—	5	6	1	5	1	7	9	2	4	—	6	19	6	11	1	18	9
Cholera	—	8	1	9	11	2	8	1	11	14	—	3	1	4	13	2	19	3	24	13
Others	4	7	2	13	17	2	5	1	8	10	—	2	—	2	7	6	14	3	23	12
Total	26	46	7	79	100	22	49	10	81	100	14	14	3	31	100	62	109	20	191	100

Table 11. *Showing the emigration of the members of the destitute families in the three periods.*

Periods	Population in the beginning					Number of emigrants					Rate of emigration per 100				
	Chiid (0-15)	Adult (15-50) Male	Adult (15-50) Female	Old 50 up	Total	Child	Adult Male	Adult Female	Old	Total	Child	Adult Male	Adult Female	Old	Total
Sept. '42-Feb. '43	297	171	151	38	657	23	10	15	2	50	8	6	10	5	8
Mar. '43-Nov. '43	248	134	117	29	528	35	11	16	6	68	14	8	14	21	13
Dec. '43-Feb. '44	214	101	99	15	429	83	12	38	2	135	39	12	38	13	31
Sept. '42-Feb. '44	297	171	151	38	657	141	33	69	10	253	47	19	46	26	39

Table 12. *Showing the total loss of population during September 1942 (before cyclone) and February 1944.*

Age-grade	Population in Sept. '42			Deaths			Emigration			Total loss			Population in Feb. '44			P.C. of loss		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
0—15	166	131	297	34	28	62	76	65	141	110	93	203	56	38	94	66	71	68
15—50	171	151	322	68	41	109	33	69	102	101	110	211	70	41	111	59	73	66
50—Up	25	13	38	13	7	20	3	4	7	16	11	27	9	2	11	64	85	71
Total	362	295	657	115	76	191	112	141	253	227	217	441	135	81	216	63	74	67

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Table 13. *Showing the willingness and ability of the relatives of the destitutes to repatriate them.*

Particulars	Family units concerned	p.c. of totals
Relatives willing but unable	55	34
„ unwilling but able	3	2
„ „ and unable	101	64
Total	159	100

Table 14. *Showing the extent of cultivable land lying fallow in different period.*

Crop Season	Families concerned	Acreage	Total cultivable holdings if all families	p.c. of total holding
Aman 1942-43	1	0·54	63·30	1
Aus 1943-44	46	29·04	36·54	79
Aman 1943-44	32	12·78	24·72	52

ANOTHER UNDECLARED WAR AGAINST CHINA

By A STUDENT OF CHINESE AFFAIRS

Since the middle of October, every one has noticed the barrage of Anglo-American press propaganda against China. Almost all the leading and influential papers in the U.K. and U.S.A. and even in Russia have made the most violent and wildest accusations against the Chinese Government. Of these charges the most outstanding are : 1. The Central Government's army has been virtually out of war ; 2. many so-called Chinese victories had never occurred ; 3. the only army showing any fight is the Chinese Communists ; 4. both Generalissimo Chiang and the Kuomintang are reluctant to make use of their armies and lend-lease materials, as they want to save them intact for use against the Communists after Japan has been defeated ; 5. trading in contraband has been going on between occupied and free China ; 6. official corruption, profiteering and inflation have become increasingly acute ; 7. democracy does not exist in China, or to put it more strongly, China is heading for fascism, etc. Whether these charges have any connection with the Churchill-Stalin meeting which came before, or the recall of General Stilwell which came after, or the Communist propaganda campaign which has been undertaken recently to overshadow the Central Government for a further expansion of their military power and international prestige, or the utter ignorance of the foreign correspondents of the historical background of China, it is not the intention of the present article to discuss. However, the allegations that have been made by responsible journals against a country which is not only considered as an ally and one of the big four, but also has fought the hardest and the longest against one of the big powers with ridiculously inadequate arms, are unfortunate and distressing at a moment when it is suffering severe losses as a result of overstrained exhaustion. Furthermore, the public in the allied countries are bound to feel extremely pessimistic and disheartened and consequently susceptible to any rumour that the fifth-columnists may take advantage of the situation to spread.

1. *Central Government's army virtually out of war*: This indictment throws a dark hint that the Central Government's army is having an armistice with Japan with a view to coming to an agreement. "The War and Working Class" of Russia openly stated that there is armistice on many fronts in China. It is hardly conceivable how China who has never had the minimum requirements of war to wrest the initiative from the enemy can be expected to launch expeditions on all fronts and at all times. As a matter of fact, even the enemy could not afford to dissipate his strength on all fronts at the same time. At any rate, the mere fact that fighting is not going on on all fronts in China cannot blot out the 5,000 raids, skirmishes and guerrilla warfares which were carried out by the Central Government's troops in 1943 alone (or 31,165 operations from July 1937 to May 1943). It has been more than a year that the Allies started their offensive in Burma. The fighting there has been spasmodic and fitful. At times, there is no fighting for days and months, then suddenly it flares up in one sector where the Allies have the initiative or vice versa. Does that suggest, in any way, that there has been an armistice between the allied and the Japanese forces ? The latest scene of battle in China is around Kwangsi. Its historic city and capital, Kweilin, which has fallen to the Japs lately, was captured by them once before but they had to give it up after the persistent blows of the Chinese defenders. This capital city has been threatened time and again, and this time the enemy is more determined than ever because of the uncomfortable situation that has been created in the Pacific by the onward push of the Allied forces. These defenders are part of Central Government's army, and the same old Chinese soldiers who have fought for over seven years. They are fighting the Japanese, who are attempting to establish overland communication, in order to cut the latter's contact with the South Seas *via* the Asiatic continent. If the Central Government's army was virtually out of war, the Japanese should have established their overland communication long ago. The fact that they have not been able to do so is sufficient proof that they have encountered a very stiff and determined resistance from the Central Government's troops. The Japanese are quite desptrate about it and so are the Chinese, so much so that the Japanese have mobilized an unprecedented number of troops, particularly from Manchuria, with a view to achieving this objective in a short period of time, while the Chinese, on the one hand, builds up "man-walls" throughout the most strategic points in China and on the other rushes to complete the link between the Burma and the Salween Fronts against monsoon. The sacrifice falls undoubtedly heavier on the Chinese than on the Japs. But at the historic hour of the momentous decision to enter into war with Japan, the Chinese Government had repeatedly assured the people that regardless of whatever reverses, losses and sacrifices, the war would go on even if the Government should be forced to move into Sinkiang or Tibet. In these seven years of war, the Government has moved its capital from Nanking to Hankow and from Hankow to Chungking without for a minute budging a single point from its first decision. To charge, therefore, that China has concluded an armistice or carried on peace negotiations with her enemy on account of the recent reverses exposes nothing but the ignorance of he journalists.

2. *Many so-called Chinese victories had never occurred* : This charge is not only a malicious libel, but a crude piece of mendacious propaganda usually heard over the enemy radio. The Chinese, though poorly armed and organized in comparison with the Japanese, have nevertheless earned their hard-fought

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chief Chinese victories in the initial stages of the war was in October, 1937, at Sinkow north of Taiyuan on the vertical Tating-Puchow railway in Shansi province. This was the first battle that shattered the myth of Japanese invincibility. Next came the Battle of Taihierchwang, a rural town 40 kilometers northeast of Hsuchow in northern Kiangsu, in early April 1938. It was due entirely to the unusual bravery and good tactics of the Chinese troops that turned an almost inevitable disaster to a major victory. As a result, more than 30,000 Japs were killed and the remnants fled in utter confusion. The Chinese victories in Shui-Tsao area in May 1939, in Changsha for the first time in October 1939, in Kulungkwan in December 1939, in the Southern Honan battle in February 1941, in the Battle of Shangkao, Northern Kiangsi in March 1941, in Changsha for the second and the third times in September 1941 and January 1942, in the Chekiang-Kiangsi battle in August 1942, in the battle of western Hupeh in May 1943, in the Battle of Changteh in November 1943, in the battles of Tengchung and Lungling in 1943 and 1944 are all well-known to the students of the Sino-Japanese war. It is undoubtedly easy to deny these victories by a single stroke of pen, but one wonders how these correspondents will explain why the Japs should have taken so much trouble to move hundreds of thousands of troops, for example, three times to capture Changsha, involving the loss of some 50,000 men each time, and to give it up as soon as the victory was won. Is it a sheer act of chivalry or just a cat's play with a mouse ? The Chinese are quite aware of their own weakness and strength. They have received many severe blows, suffered many serious defeats and yet they carry on, because they all know that as man to man they are superior to the enemy and if given adequate arms they will quite easily beat him. This confidence has enabled them to score not a few major victories over the Japs, and it is this very silver lining—victories—that has made it possible for the Chinese soldiers and their government to carry on the fight for such a long time.

3. *The only army showing any fight is the Chinese Communists* : In order to have a clear understanding of China's military position, it is necessary to bear in mind that the entire nation is divided into nine war areas as shown in the following table :

War Areas	Locality	Commander
1st	Honan-Southeastern Shensi	General Chen Cheng
2nd	Shansi	,, Yen Hsi-shan
3rd	Kiangsu-Anhwei-Chekiang-Eastern Kiangsi	,, Ku Chu-tung
4th	Kwangsi	,, Chang Fa-kwei
5th	Hupeh-Northern Anhwei	,, Li Tsung-jen
6th	Western Hupeh-Northwestern Hunan	,, Sun Lien-chung
7th	Kwangtung	,, Yu Han-mou
8th	Kansu-Ningsia-Suiyan-Chinghai-Sinkiang	,, Chu Shao-liang
9th	Hunan-Western Kiangsi	,, Hsueh Yueh
Chinese Expeditionary Forces	Western Yunnan-Burma	,, Wei-Li-huang

All these areas have been garrisoned and defended by the Central Government's army. The Chinese Communists have formed a government and an army of their own in the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia-area. With the exception of a few major and minor operations which occurred a few years ago in the Communist area, fighting in China took place entirely in the eastern, central, southern and western provinces where the Central Government's troops are located. The recent seven months' campaign from Honan in the north to Hupeh-Hunan in the centre and to Kwangsi in the south as well as the landing in Fukien are all in the Central Government's areas. It certainly requires an unusual line of reasoning to explain how the Communist army can show up a good fight when they are not in the fight, and why the Central Government's army who are alleged to be poor fighters could have exacted from the enemy more than two million casualties, 740 billion yen of direct war expenses, kept the enemy at bay for more than seven years and immobilized some 40 divisions or about 1,000,000 men for other theatres of war. Curiously enough, out of almost all the previous wars in history, the merchants emerged as the sole beneficiary, but this time the Communists are due to become the joint recipients of all the war glories although their very existence is maintained by the Central Government's army who have done most of the fighting and have borne the full brunt of the overwhelming onslaught of the enemy.

4. *Both Generalissimo Chiang and the Kuomintang are reluctant to make use of their armies and lend-leased materials, as they want to save them intact for use against the Communists after Japan has been defeated* : This issue arises from the assertion that the Government has stationed some 200,000 troops in the 8th war area as a watchdog against the Communists. First of all, the size of this area should have required at least three times the size of the present army, but a bare skeleton is maintained because that area is not expected to be the central target of military attacks either from the Japanese or other countries. Secondly, even if the assertion is true, the fault must rest with the Communists. For all the Commanders of the 2nd, 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th war areas were at one time and another deadly enemies of the Generalissimo and yet have all pledged undivided loyalty to, and have cooperated wholeheartedly with the Central Government without the slightest difficulty. There is no reason whatsoever why the Communists cannot do the same thing. Thirdly, if Generalissimo had actually conserved the army and materials for staging civil war against the Communists, it must have been a magic that he has withstood the Japs so long and outfought them on a dozen occasions. In fact, at the beginning, the Generalissimo staked all his best equipped and German-trained troops into the Battle of Shanghai, from which few of them came back alive. This is a fact which all the foreigners in the international city of Shanghai can easily testify. Since last year, China has again continuously sent her completely lend-lease equipped and American-trained troops into Burma to fight the Japs. If all these are to be construed as conservation, it must be a newly coined term intelligible only to the Western mentality. Fourthly, if there is a party at all guilty of such conservation, it must be no other than the Chinese Communists themselves. For in the small area of theirs, these feudalistic Communists have steadily expanded their regular army from the legalized size of 45,000 to 450,000, not to mention another force of 1,000,000 equally well-trained men under the guise of militia. As a pretext to their refusal to advance against the Japanese-occupied territories along Suiyun and Inner Mongolia in the north and along Chahar and Hopei in the east as repeatedly requested by the Generalissimo, they counter-demanded to send their troops southward and backward into other war areas which they specified. To attack, therefore, the Central Government instead of the Communists for th act of conservation is nothing short of fanaticism.

5. *Trading in contraband between occupied and free China* : The charge is so very weak that the journalists responsible for it can very safely be taken to have had practically no knowledge of the economic condition in China. The coastal regions, such as Shanghai, Tientsin, Canton, etc., have always been economically and industrially far more developed than the interior. With the withdrawal of the Govtrnment into the interior, the Chinese have lost their main sources of production. And by the fall of Hongkong and Burma, she has to depend entirely upon the appallingly meagre production in the interior to feed, cloth, house and equip all the civilians and soldiers. They have got

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to live as well as to fight. They must get these things from wherever they can. Is it not politically, economically and strategically advisable to secure them from occupied territories, whenever possible? It is denying the enemy and helping the Chinese war effort at the same time. And it was solely on this score that the Government has not prohibited the importation of all necessary articles and war materials from Japanese occupied areas.

6. *Official corruption profiteering and inflation have become increasingly acute*: These trree evils are interacting and cumulative in effect. Once the inflation is started, profiteering follows. And when the people's livelihood is threatened, corruption becomes almost inevitable. It may be recalled that during the first four years of war, the official corruption in the free China areas had never presented much of a problem. But with the fall of Hongkong and later the blockade of the Burma road, the skyrocketing prices in the interior have continued to foster corruptions and profiteering very much to the discomfiture of the Central Government. The leaders of the country have done and are doing their best to grapple with the situation. Personal appeals, severe measures of control and capital punishments seem to be ineffective in putting an end to all the ill-practices, when people's daily livelihood is endangered. The upward revision of salary scales has only served to push the price-level higher and higher, leaving in its wake a gap between them wider than ever. President Chiang in the opening session of the People's Political Council this year said: "The difficulties we face are not surprising since we had not in the past 30 years, laid a solid foundation for military, political, economic and scientific development. A formidable enemy attacked us at a time when our reconstruction had not fully begun. Upon a country little developed in light and heavy industries, the ravages of war have naturally had telling effects. Furthermore, our communications have been cut and we have had neither time nor wherewithals for making repairs and replacements. Consequently we have experienced shortages in military supplies and materials. Added to all these difficulties has been the fact that we are loosely organized socially . . . Whereas we have remained strong in spirit after a prolonged war, our resources have been reduced as time went on. During recent months these weaknesses have become particularly apparent. This we should not try to conceal but endeavour to correct." It is very clear, therefore, that all these things are only the natural consequences of circumstances which are rather beyond the control of the Chinese Government. The only sensible and constructive contribution which China's allies can make now is not just to criticise but to open up a sea route to China as soon as possible.

7. *Democracy does not exist in China*: Some of the journalists outcried that Stilwell's recall was a political triumph of the moribund anti-democratic regime that was more concerned with maintaining its political supremacy than driving the Japs from China; that there is no freedom of speech. etc.. etc. These commentators seemed to have overlooked that the revolutionary aim of the Chinese Government has always been to build a democracy in China. President Chiang once reminded us: "Our revolution and reconstruction aim at the realization of a San Min Chu I democratic government. Only the day the constitutional government is realized may be regarded as the day when the work Dr. Sun handed down to us is completed. There would have been no revolutionary sacrifices and struggles during the last 50 years if we had not worked for the realization of democracy." It is a great misfortune that China was stopped short in her march toward democracy by the cruel hand of Japan. However, the Government has not been disappointed and has repeatedly promised to institute the democratic form of government one year after the war. It has also set about feverishly educating and organizing the people in order to prepare them for a real democracy.

It is necessary to add that the Chinese people are essentially democratic, individualistic, and liberal. By their very nature, they will never choose the fascist or the communistic pattern of government, nor will they allow it to have a lasting foothold except under military compulsion. The present Chinese censorship system is far more lenient than that in the Chinese Communist area, because while the Kuomingtang newspapers have always been prohibited in the Chinese Communist area, the Communists can freely publish their newspaper in Chungking. It is also more rational than that in the U.S. or Great Britain in that it only discriminates against the destructive criticisms either against China or her allies, and for this reason the scandalous and libellous accusations against the allies can appear in abundance in the newspapers in the U.S. and Great Britain, but not in those in China.

It is also interesting to note that although the Chinese Government has never claimed to have attained any degree of democracy, it nevertheless is the most democratic form of a coalition government ever known in history. Men of all political shades and parties are represented in the present government and have cooperated well beyond expectation. Men like Gen. Fen Yu-hsiang, Gen. Yen Hsi-shan. Gen. Li Tsung-jen, Gen. Pai Chung-hsi. Gen. Chen Chi-tang, Mr. Tsou Lu, Admiral Shen Hung-lieh, Mr. Sun Fo, Mr. Liang Han-tsao and hundreds of others are holding responsible positions either in the cabinet or in military fields. Even the Communists have their representatives in he People's Political Council. With the present cabinet reshuffle, it is hoped that the Chinese Communists will once and for all relinquish their traditional policy of ever-inflating their demands and submit themselves to the united military command under Generalissimo, thereby getting themselves entitled to a full and active share of all the government and military responsibilities. Through this sincere mutual concession and cooperation, it is also hoped that the bitter days of fighting may be shortened and the democracy may be achieved in China at an earlier date.

In conclusion, it must be stated that as far as the military situation is concerned, it has never been more alarming than during the fall of Nanking. It was in those days entirely due to the extreme calmness and firmness of the Chinese leaders that had stopped the blitzkrieg advance of the Japanese and thus saved the complete collapse of China. Unfortunately enough the persistent exposure in recent months of the weakness and seriousness in the Chinese military situation by the British and American correspondents. commentators and political leaders has achieved nothing but to stimulate the bold attempts of the Japs on the one hand and to undermine the morale of the Chinese army on the other. Should such ridiculous action be allowed to continue unabated, it is obvious that not only the Chinese would have to suffer more heavily than ever before, but the British and Americans would have also to stand a greater loss of life in this theatre of war.

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, *The Modern Review.*

ENGLISH

GANDHI'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM 1942: *Edited by R. N. Khanna. Allied Indian Publishers, Circular Road, Bhandari Cottage, Lahore. Pp. 90. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This is a collection of important pronouncements on the political crisis in India in 1942. The editor has selected some significant statements made by persons like the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Shastri, Mr. Rajagopalacharia, Mr. Kalinath Ray, Mr. Edward Thompson, Mr. Arthur Moore, Mr. Edgar Snow and Prof. Gheewala. The book also contains some statements of Mahatma Gandhi and an account of the interview between Mr. Amery and the political correspondent of the *Sunday Times*. All the material taken together constitutes an excellent commentary on the Indian deadlock.

Prof. Gheewala's article—"Moral Challenge to the British and the Allies" which was originally published in *The Modern Review* is of great value as a succinct and sober presentation of the Congress case. Mr. Kalinath Ray's "Congress and Deadlock" reproduced from *The Tribune* is notable for the unassailable logic with which he has shown that the Congress leaders did not want, "by passing the August resolution, to go into the political wilderness." The statements of Mr. Moore, Mr. Snow and Mr. Thompson will be valued as a complete exposure, by foreign observers, of the utter emptiness of official propaganda. Speaking of the British promise of Dominion Status, Mr. Thompson observes, "Our Government tells India that its date depends on Indians' agreement. In that case it will never come. No country ever gets hundred per cent agreement. Indians think that we use the minorities, as the Nazis used Sudeten and other German minorities, as a smoke screen."

Mahatmaji's replies to some key questions put to him by an unnamed enquirer and his statements to Mr. Chaplin of the International News Service, America, and to Mr. Belldon, representative of "*Life*" and "*Time*" acquaint us with the principles and the policy of the greatest spokesman of Indian Nationalism. Mr. Shastri's opinions have the clarity and force which characterise all his statements. To the students of Indian politics, the book will be useful as a collection of important documents.

H. C. Mookerjee

THE EVOLUTION OF INDIAN MYSTICISM: *By Dewan Bahadur K. S. Ramaswami Sastri. Published by the International Book House Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 129.*

We do not expect from a mystic definite and clear-cut statements like mathematical propositions; nor even any semi-poetic description of things like that of the structure of an atom. Words, phrases and emotional out-bursts and repetitions of these, mark what is usually regarded as typical mystic literature. An effusive efflorescence characterises any attempt to describe the indescribable experiences of a mystic mind. The book before us is not an exception to this rule.

Though this is not praise, yet, what we say is not condemnation either, pure and simple. A mathematician, on hearing a poem read out to him, is reported to have exclaimed that it did not *prove* anything. Little did he know that a thing may have value even though it may not prove any conclusion. The scientist or the rationalist may similarly feel that mysticism leads us nowhere; but that in itself cannot rule mysticism out of court. To one who has it, the mystic experience is of boundless worth.

Can we, however, speak of *evolution* of mysticism? Evolution is a process from less to more and from simple to complex. But mysticism seems to be the same all the world over and all the ages through.

Our author's thesis that 'India was the mother of religions,' is a statement about the past and need not be controverted. But his hope that "the nations of the earth, war-weary and stricken in soul, will come to her for consolation and illumination" (p. 129), is definitely over-optimistic. What seems more likely is that the nations of the earth will come to India for domination and exploitation, to wring out of her all her natural resources and make her a market for the world's manufactured goods. Her century-old spiritual truths may be allowed a place as an undergrowth and her teeming millions will certainly be allowed to feed upon them and ruminate, provided they know how to behave in their political and economic life.

U. C. Bhattacharjee

THE BENGAL TRAGEDY: *By Tushar Kanti Ghosh. Hero Publications, 6, Lower Mall, Lahore. Pages 107. Price 2-8.*

This is the sad tale of the Bengal Famine of 1943 in sixteen Chapters and three Appendices from the pen of one of the most distinguished of the Bengali journalists who saw with his own eyes the most tragic spectacle of recent times. While the people of Bengal died in hundreds and thousands, the controversy was going on as to the share of responsibilities of the Provincial and the Central Governments, difficulties of transport, export or import of foodgrains, responsibilities of the previous and the then Bengal Minisetrs and so on and so forth. While the country was actually in the grip of famine, the Bengal Government did not admit it officially, as that would have cost the Government Exchequer a few millions and required measures to be undertaken according to the Famine Code. The officials of the Bengal Government and the Secretary of State sang in the same tune ignoring the tragedy till it was too late. Even Statistics were not compiled to know the actual casualties of famine. In one word, this famine is man-made and is an example of maladministration all through. The writer has spared none in his outspoken criticism. Independent authorities from other provinces have been quoted to show how All-India considers about the tragedy. The book deserves wide circulation.

A. B. Dutta

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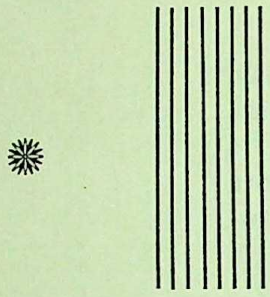

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FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS OF MARXISM : *By G. Plekhanov. Published by Saraswati Library, C 18-19, College St. Market, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3.*

This is a reprint of Eden and Ceden Paul's translation of Plekhanov's famous book on Marxism. Plekhanov was the political *guru* of Lenin about whom he wrote : "No one can become a conscicus, real communist without studying—precisely studying—everything written by Plekhanov on philosophy; it is the best of all the international literature of Marxism." Plekhanov's *Fundamental Problems of Marxism* is mainly concerned with the philosophical and historical aspects of scientific socialism. This is his last and most mature writing. It is the most brilliant and systematic exposition of Marxism and dialectic materialism. The publication of this book in India has now brought Plekhanov's masterpiece within easy reach of those who desire to gather an authentic knowledge of the fundamental principles of scientific socialism.

D. Burman

BENGALI

ISLAM GAURAB (The Glory of Islam) : *By Prof. Brajasundar Roy, M.A. Published by the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, 211, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8.*

At a time when the relations between Hindus and Mahomedans are daily becoming more and more strained, and the growing bitterness between the two communities is being fanned by various sinister influences threatening the unity of India, the publication of this book will be welcomed by all lovers of this great country. The author seeks to give an account of the salient events of Mahomet's life along with the main principles of his teachings. Besides describing he characteristic features of the Muslim faith, as promulgated by its founder, the author also relates the story of the Caliphates of Medina and Baghdad. A perusal of the book will show that the author has succeeded in his enterprise in a singular manner by producing a work written in clear and graceful Bengali and within the compass of only one hundred pages and in an attractive and handy form. It supplies a real want as very few books in Bengali are available on the subject.

Khan Shahib Ataur Rahman, M.A., Assistant Director of Public Instruction, Assam, who has contributed a short Foreword, states that "the book is undoubtedly a genuine appreciation of Islam, offers a refreshing reading and bears the impress of an unbiased and sympathetic mind." It is an instructive and useful publication and will certainly be of help in dispelling the widespread ignorance on the subject that generally prevails among Hindus and Mahomedans alike, and in allaying the growing ill-will between the communities that prejudices progress as well as peace and prosperity.

Sudhir Kumar Lahiri

HINDI

VISVA-VEDANA : *By Maithalisharana Gupta. Sahitya Sadan, Chirgaon, Jhansi. Pp. 48. Price annas six.*

The poet is conscious more of the eternity, inherent in the seminal vision or value of life, than of time, as such, conditioned by the changing aspect of incident or event. The long poem, under review, was begun at the end of the First World War and left unfinished and it was resumed under the pressing prompting of the present global Armageddon. And yet there is not a trace of any discontinuity or lack of unity in the treatment of the theme visible. On the contrary, the cry of pain, provoked by energy of aggression in its myriad forms derived from the dictatorship of the intellect, has become all the more poignant. As one reads along, the face of Humanity stained with scalding tears rises before his mind's eye and, like the poet, exclaims, "Let, O Lord, Thy grace descend on the world so that the arrows of affliction may be transformed into flowers of felicity." The poet's artistry of expression and intensity of emotion are too well-known to need any comment. *Visva-Vedana* is humanity's heart pulverized with pain, but with its undying phoenix-like faith in the radiance and reality of ultimate joy.

G. M.

INT AUR RODE : *By Shyamu Sannyasi. Published by Sahyogi Prakashan, Hirabagh, Bombay. Pp. 86. Price Re. 1-4.*

This book contains twenty-four short stories and sketches written in a simple language and lucid style. The themes are mostly taken from the lives of poor, illiterate and suffering people, which make reading both interesting and informative. The treatment appears to be rather of a progressive trend, but is more of an emotional nature instead.

M. S. Sengar

TELUGU

NARAYANA RAO : (*The Andhra University Prize Novel*). *By Adavi Bapiraju, Kalapeetham, Guntur. Printed at Laxmi Power Press, Tenali. All rights reserved by the author. Pp. 300. Price Rs. 2-8.*

The novel is predominantly moralistic in tone. Varied topics of general interest are dealt with in this volume. Even though they contribute little to the development of the story or incidents, they are highly informative and educative. And as such, they have a value of their own. The main theme—the marriage, separation and re-union of Narayana Rao with the heroine of the book is interrupted several times most unceremoniously by minor love episodes. Of the numerous characters. Narayana Rao is the most lavishly portrayed one. But Sarada, the heroine, is more subtle and interesting from the psychological point of view. In spite of its elaborately worked out descriptions which give an air of reality throughout, the book suffers a good deal from lack of esrential dramatic touches. Even the 'purple patches' fail to give the necessary momentum to the story.

K. V. Subba Rao

GUJARATI

SITA: *By Chandravadan Mehta, B.A. Published by Padma Prakashan, Ltd., Bombay. Paper cover. Pp. 14 + 73. Price Re. 1-8.*

Sita, the heroine of the Ramayana, has passed through various painful vicissitudes in life, the most tragic being her expulsion from the capital when she was with child, by her husband. This incident is described in pathetic terms, by both ancient and modern narrators, Valmiki, Tulsidas, Kalidas, Bhavabhuti, Dwijendralal and others. They have all helped the writer of this little play, who pleads ardently for the revival of a Gujarati theatre on ennobling lines in place of its present deteriorative state and he has been able to present Sita's plight, in rather an unconventional form.

Rama fighting with Ravan only to gratify his desire to conquer an enemy and not to liberate Sita, his addressing Sita with offensive words as to her chastity during imprisonment, and Sita's angry reply both then and at the time of her leaving the capital present both of them, the ideals of gentleness and humility, in quite a novel form. The writer has studied the subject fully and worked out his own conclusions. The killing of Shambuk, the Shudra, at the instance of Vashishtha, places Rama in an unenviable position. The Rajguru is portrayed as an uncompromising protagonist of Dharma. The play is cast for purposes of presentation on modern stage, and is altogether a thought-provoking work.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Bengal Famine

If the famine of 1770 has been described as a blot on the escutcheon of British rule in India, the famine which appeared in Bengal in 1943 must be regarded as a thick coat of tar on that escutcheon, as it appeared after British rule in India had been left unhampered to do its work for just a little less than two centuries. In the course of an article in *The Calcutta Review* Hemendra Prasad Ghose observes :

The denial policy was responsible for aggravating the situation and the outside world was kept in ignorance about the grim ordeal of the people of Bengal because of a famine which was not the result of the caprice of the clouds but was man-made.

An analysis of the causes of the terrible famine in Bengal would go to show how it was the result of the action of man. We can summarise the causes as follows:

(1) In Bengal we had an unsympathetic head of the province who declined to consult the collective wisdom of his Ministers—one of whom resigned in disgust. A man who hoped to muddle through somehow and used the war to justify his autocratic action, was at the helm of affairs in Bengal. He had not the experience and efficiency to anticipate things nor the courage to view them in their proper perspective and realise the poignant possibilities.

(2) In the Centre we had a Governor-General whose Cabinet descended to that depth of degradation where newspaper correspondents are not allowed to send out exact news and true accounts of a famine in the country. He declined to take the advice tendered by eminent men like Sir N. N. Sircar and Kunwar Sir Jagadish Prasad, who had been Members of his Executive Council, to visit Bengal, make quick decisions and take prompt action. On the 29th August, 1943, these two gentlemen issued a joint memorandum in which they exposed the hollowness of the statesments of the Bengal Ministers and said :

"A large number of famished men, women and children are migrating to Calcutta from the interior in search of food. It is a common sight to find emaciated people, some in the last stages of exhaustion, lying in the pavements without any shelter. Over 60,000 of such persons are resorting to Free Kitchens daily. Dead bodies are picked up daily from the streets. We have no information as to the number of reported deaths from starvation in the districts, but according to fairly reliable reports, cases of death exceed many thousands in such districts as Noakhali and Midnapur. This is highly probable, as in Calcutta alone 763 collapsed bodies were removed between August 16 and August 21, followed by large numbers of cases on each subsequent day. This does not include cases of death, 25 to 50, on each day in the month of August, 1943."

After visiting one of the East Bengal districts, Sir Jagadish Prasad issued a statement on the 10th September, 1943, in which he wrote as follows :

"At one of the kitchens in Faridpur I noticed a man lapping up food like a dog. I saw abandoned children in the last stages of emaciation; men and women who had been without food for so long that they could now be fed only under strict medical supervision. Dead bodies are being daily picked up and also those who had fallen by the wayside through sheer exhaustion. A man after vainly wandering for food collapsed on the door-steps of the Collector's Court Room. As the body was being removed, a woman huddled in a corner pushed out a bundle and cried 'take that also.' It was her dead child. At a kitchen a woman had been walking every day more than a dozen miles to and from her home to take gruel to her sick and famished husband."

Even such descriptions failed to create any impression on Lord Linlithgow, who cleverly compounded with his conscience by thinking that the responsibility for providing food for the famished was not the Central Government's.

(3) A heartless Secretary of State for India was established in the India Office who denied his responsibility and gave to the House of Commons figures which were absolutely unreliable and created an impression in India which is that his ideas of responsibility militate against humanity.

(4) In Bengal the people were at the mercy of a Ministry created by a Governor who is no more—a Ministry which evidently thought that mere *communique* could combat a famine.

On the 17th May, 1943, there was a meeting at the foot of the Monument on Calcutta Maidan where (1) Sir Nazimuddin referred to the serious rice situation in the Province and expressed the hope that with the co-operation of the people of Bengal the new Ministry would be able to solve the problem. He pleaded for time, and (2) Mr. T. C. Goswami said that he believed that the hard days through which the people were passing on account of the soaring prices *would not last more than two or three weeks.*

No wonder they did not consider it necessary to collect figures of death due to starvation, and have not made necessary arrangements for the medical treatment of the people suffering from diseases due to starvation and malnutrition.

Who will be able to give reliable figures of death due to the famine in Bengal ?

—

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East-European Front

The New Review observes :

The tempo of operations increased in Russia and the Balkans, but their character was not quite clear from the information available. Soviet attacks and Nazi withdrawals were all mixed up ; but on the whole most of the movement was due to Nazi withdrawal which the Soviet armies hustled here and there. The submission of Finland and the *volte-face* of Rumania and Bulgaria had vitiated the former distribution of forces and compelled the Nazi High Command to fall back on the perimeter of the *Deutschland Festung*. East-Prussia was invaded at several points ; satellite Hungary was caught between the Soviet troops rushing into Slovakia and the Soviet, Rumanian, and Yugoslav columns advancing from the west and the south. Movement warfare is in full swing in the Balkans, and military discretion keeps the *communiques* deliberately out of date.

Politics may have come in to complicate strategy ; countries along the Baltic and in the Balkans are organised politically as well as militarily ; the Moscow press cautions simple Soviet soldiers against the dangerous attractiveness of fashionable goods in invaded countries, and the Soviet army remains quiet in the Warsaw suburbs, which it reached in July, and where it waits for the final composition of the future Polish government.

Further south, British troops have captured several islands of the Mediterranean and have landed in Yugoslavia and Greece in the rear of the Soviet lines to organise Greek relief and British security.

War and Oil

Science and Culture observes :

The old slogan that an army cannot march on empty stomach now stands corrected as that an army cannot march on empty oil tank. Speaking of the Allied victory in the last war, Lord Curzon said that the Allies swam to victory on the wave of oil. The part played by oil in the present global war of three dimensions, in which highly mechanized units are carrying on relentless campaigns on land, at sea, and in air need hardly be overestimated. In his article in a recent issue of *Technology Review*, Roland F. Beers quotes some figures relating to military requirements for oils of various descriptions, which make interesting reading. The U.S. armed forces require approximately 50,000,000 gallons (250 gallons=1 ton) of gasoline, fuel oil, lubricants, and other products of petroleum every day. The U.S. Navy consumed over 1,000,000,000 gallons of oils in 1942 and twice this amount in 1943. Figure for the current year, although not quoted, will doubtless indicate a much greater amount. A mechanized Army division on the move operating with a total horse-power of about 200,000 consumes nearly 18,000 gallons of gasoline per hour.

We have recently heard a good deal about 1,000 planes air raids over Germany. A single air raid on such a scale calls for a consumption of more than 1,000,000 gallons of gasoline and 30,000 gallons of lubricating oil. Every Flying Fortress requires not less than 500 gallons of gasoline. It has further been estimated that 3 pounds of gasoline are needed to deliver one pound of bombs filled with petroleum explosives.

The demand for petroleum in the military has become so heavy and exacting of late that even U. S. A., with her vast resources of petroleum, increasingly finds it difficult to cope with it. In 1943, the total consumption of oil in U.S.A. amounted to 1,500,000,000 barrels (46 gallons=1 barrel). At the beginning of the present year she has been producing at the rate of 4,000,000 barrels a day. Her present production rate is estimated at 4,500,000 barrels a day, which is, however, being maintained with great difficulty. Some operators foresee that in 1945 her daily requirement of petroleum may develop into 5,000,000 barrels a day. For the last few years U.S.A. failed to equalize her output rate with consumption rate and had to draw upon her reserve stocks which are being steadily depleted. In January 1941, U.S.A. had in storage above the ground approximately 263,000,000 barrels of crude oil which declined to 249,000,000 barrels by January 1944. During the same period, her heavy fuel oil stocks dwindled from 86,000,000 barrels to 54,000,000 and gasoline stocks from 90,000,000 to 78,000,000 barrels. Only her stocks of light fuel oil indicated a slight increase from 37,000,000 to 39,000,000 barrels. For this growing deficit U.S.A. has at present to depend on foreign sources of oil and on the possible discovery of new oil fields in her own territory. The article describes how intensively the search for new oils is now going on in U.S.A. for which the services of wildcatters as well as competent scientists, including geologists, physicists, chemists, electrical engineers, mathematicians, bacteriologists, biologists, paleontologists, mineralogists, petrographers etc. have been requisitioned on a large scale. Three hundred and fifty of these crews, numbering up to 15 per crew, are now engaged in their search for oil throughout the United States. The total annual outlay for exploration work is now reported to exceed $350,000,000.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Employment of Negroes in United States War Industries

The exigencies of wartime production and the claims upon manpower have effected a marked change in the status of the Negro in war industries in the United States. Robert C. Weaver, Executive Director, Mayor's Committee on Race Relations Chicago, writes in the *International Labour Review* :

There are many accounts of the impediments to the employment of Negroes in war industries of the United States. All the available material reflects the fact that at the outset of the defence effort local white male and female labour was absorbed and outside white workers were imported in centres of early defence activity at the same time that the local Negro labour supply was not tapped to any appreciable degree. Few Negroes were trained for defence employment, and the majority of semi-skilled and skilled jobs remained closed to them. Certain industries, aircraft and machinetool in particular, were openly discriminatory. Other industries, such as shipbuilding and ordnance, restricted coloured workers to the unskilled, heavy, dirty occupations. Long after white women were widely employed in war plants, Negro women were generally excluded.

It was, however, in 1942 that the beginnings in the trend towards Negro participation in war industries of the United States took place. In January 1942, non-white workers (of whom 95 per cent are Negroes) contributed only 3 per cent of the labour force in war plants; a year later they were 6·4 per cent of the total. Since that time they have made up approximately 7 per cent of the war workers. The really significant gains in employment and training were made in the second half of 1942. From July to December 1942 inclusive, approximately 60,000 Negroes entered pre-employment courses and 13,000 entered supplmentary courses. The registration rate of Negro trainees trebled in the 18th-month period from July 1941 to December 1942. Most significant is the fact that Negro pre-employment trainees were concentrated in machine shops, aircraft, and shipbuilding—occupations from which they had been almost entirely excluded in the earlier phases of the defence effort. In 1943 over 112,000 Negroes enrolled and completed war production training and related courses.

Because of the earlier barriers to Negro employment, coloured workers did not participate in the mass migration to industrial centres in the earlier phases of the defence effort. When, however, relaxations occurred, there was a wave of Negro migration to urban communities. In some respects, it was similar to the earlier movement during the war of 1914-1918, although it differed in two significant features. This time a large number of coloured men and women went to the west coast in response to the mounting demands for war workers in that region, and thousands of rural Negroes moved to southern cities. The movement of Negroes into industrial centres is continuing and seems destined to keep up as long as there are manpower shortages in our northern and western centres of production.

Today there are over 1,000,000 Negroes in war plants. Although the majority are concentrated in unskilled jobs, a sizable proportion are in semi-skilled jobs and occupations calling for a single skill only. Negroes have entered many new occupations : some are in young industries, such as aircraft; others are in established industries which had traditionally been closed to them, such as machine tool production; a large number are in industries in which it had been traditional to limit Negro employment to unskilled and a few undesirable semi-skilled jobs. In this latter category iron and steel, shipbuilding, and automobile manufacturing constitute the most important examples. While the most significant development incident to Negro employment is the rise in the number of coloured single-skilled and semi-skilled workers in industry, it is important to observe that some Negroes have achieved jobs as skilled workers.

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These over-all trends indicate that just as the Negro emerged from the first world war with a foothold in unskilled jobs in heavy industry, so he will probably emerge from the present war with a foothold in semi-skilled jobs in many industries and with a place as a worker in a wide variety of industries and plants. But this development has been and is spotty. The relaxation of the colour bar in southern industry has been slow, and, as far as occupational advancement is concerned, there has been little general change during the war. In other sections of the country, there are many occupations, numerous firms, and a few industries which still remain closed to Negroes. Equality of opportunity for upgrading is still the exception rather than the rule. And Negro women are still discriminated against in many war plants where female labour has been accepted. From the point of view of establishing new racial patterns in employment, much progress has been made in the last four years; from the point of view of equality of opportunity without colour distinction, much remains to be done. The process of change continues in response to economic forces, and as long as the labour market remains tight, there will be additional relaxations in the colour line. Today, when there is virtually full employment of Negroes in our industrial centres, the problem is one of securing in-plant training and upgrading for Negroes already in war plants, transferring trained men from less essential work, and expanding employment opportunities for Negro women in industrial employment.

Underground Waters

E. B. Bailey observes in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*:

It is interesting to give a thought to the natural history of the underground water of which we re speaking. Like the water of our surface streams and lakes, where, of course, we readily see or can imagine movement, underground water functions as portion of a mighty current leading from sky to ocean. No part could maintain itself indefinitely above sea level if cut off from replenishment. It is true that in certain basins, walled and floored with impermeable material, underground water might linger stagnant for what, to mankind, might seem eternity; but eventually it would be dissipated by subterranean evaporation, more slow, but no less sure, than the subærial evaporation responsible for dissipation of desert lakes at the surface.

There are some who think it dangerous to compare the circulation of underground and surface waters, because the differences are so important. Except in the caves of limestone districts, there is scarcely an underground stream or lake into which a man could dip a finger. Usually the underground analogues of surface streams and lakes are enormously extended bodies of water, minutely distributed throughout the substance of saturated permeable rocks; the streams ooze very, very slowly in some direction or another; the lakes stand practically stationary—until relief of pressure, such as is furnished by the pumping of a borehole, gives local opportunity for escape. A slightly closer approach to surface conditions is afforded in cases where the underground flow is conducted, not indiscriminately through the main mass of the containing rock, but along an interlacing set of fissures. Erosion may in such a case give local mastery to some particular fissure, or sequence of fissures, thus concentrating discharge into a spring rather than a seepage zone. In the special case where the country rock is limestone, soluble enough to be etched but strong enough to resist collapse, concentration may extend far underground, and fashion for itself a lengthy cavern.

An underground lake in a permeable formation is often confined beneath a cover of impermeable rock which may, in places, descend far below the water table established in the permeable formation where this latter communicates upwards freely with the surface. To match this condition in connection with a surface lake one is driven to small-scale analogies. If one sails on Lake Windermere, the water level on either side of the boat corresponds sufficiently closely with the water table of the underground lake in its unconfined portions; while the water beneath the boat is in a position analogous to that of the underground water where confined beneath impermeable cover. If now a juvenile experimenter bores a hole through the bottom of the boat, water will spurt upwards in an attempt to reach as high as the free water surface alongside the boat. Similarly, if a borehole be drilled through impermeable cover into a confined underground lake, water will tend to rise in the borehole to the level of the water table alongside the cover. If the surface of the ground, where the bore is sunk, is lower than the adjacent water table, the water in it will gush out into the air at the top exactly as it gushes out into the air within the boat. A gushing well of this type is called artesian, after early examples in the province of Artois, northern France. Wells in which water rises from a permeable formation through an impermeable cover part way to the surface are classed as subartesian.

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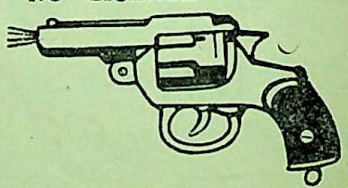

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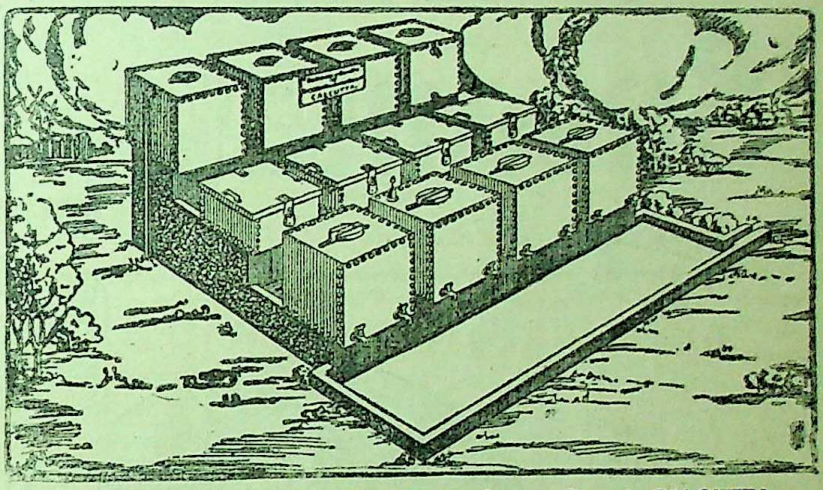

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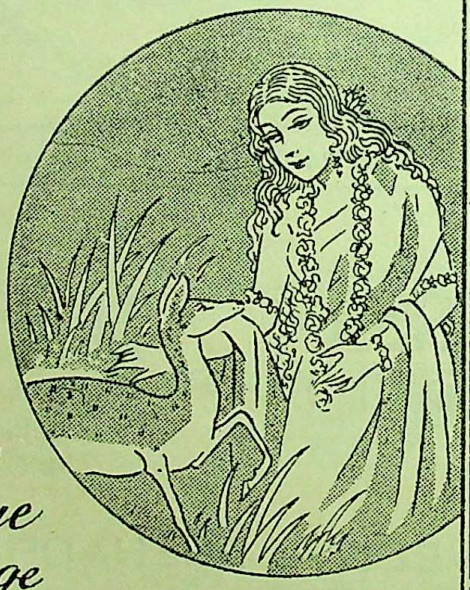

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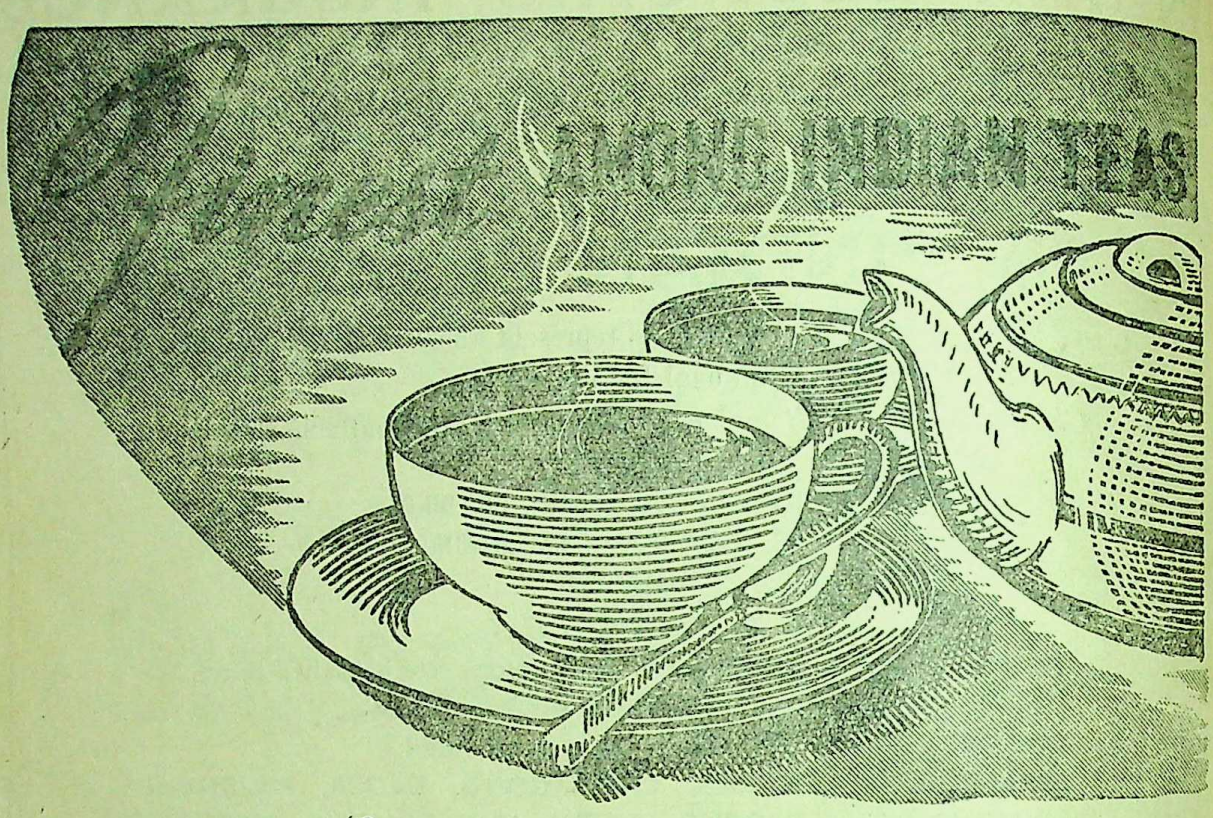

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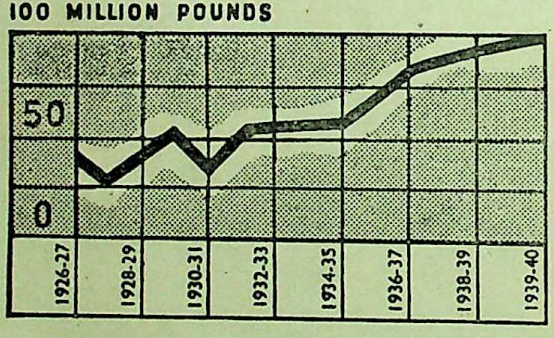

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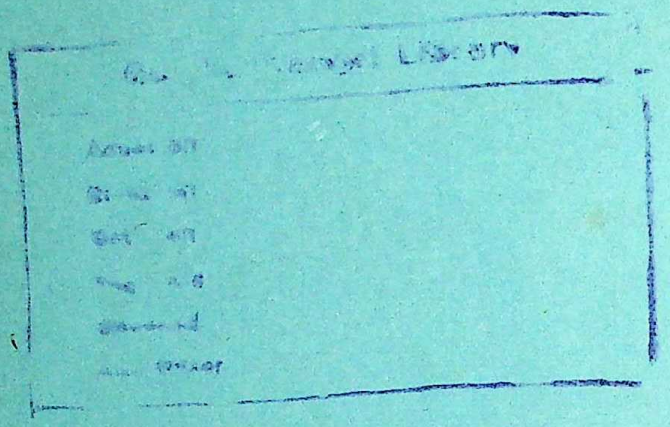

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